CHRISTIAN ADULT EDUCATION IN RURAL ASIA AND AFRICA

T. H. P. SAILER

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Christian Adult Education in Rural Asia and Africa

by T. H. P. SAILER

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INTRODUCTION

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGN MISSIONS HAS GREATLY changed since the time when William Carey's proposal to undertake the work met with the rebuke: "Sit down, young man; when it pleases God to convert the heathen he'll do it without your help or mine." * [1] We still have theologians who stress the divine initiative in such a way as to disparage human planning. Life is like a road with a ditch on either side. The fact that some fall into the ditch on the right hand is no reason why others should fall into the ditch on the left. It seems evident that God wishes us both to depend on his grace and to use our minds and all our abilities to the utmost; in Carey's own words, both to expect great things from God and to attempt great things for God.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the attitude of American Christians today toward the foreign missionary enterprise is the variety of the grounds on which they lend it their support. Some hold strongly to the assumptions on which the undertaking was originally based and are suspicious of thought tendencies of the nineteenth century which seem to weaken these assumptions. Those who have been impregnated with modern ideas tend to become

* George Smith in *The Life of Carey*, says that Carey was called "a miserable enthusiast" and told that nothing could be done without another Pentecost with a miraculous gift of tongues.

[1] All numbered references appear at the ends of chapters.

impatient with what they consider the narrowness of the older positions. In both these groups are earnest and devoted Christians who ought to borrow the best from each other instead of recoiling from the worst. Christianity is more than humanism, but it is not less. The two should no more be separated than religion and ethics. Because some go too far toward one extreme is no reason why others should go too far toward the other.

The evangelicals of England and America who were founders of modern Protestant missions had convictions which were both definite and deep. They were oppressed with the tremendous significance of eternity as compared with finite time. Robert Morrison, pioneer missionary to China, expressed the viewpoint when he wrote to his father: " 'Short is the passage from the cradle to the tomb.' . . . It is less than nothing, compared with that eternity which lies before us. It is not worthy of a thought. To eternity be all our ideas directed." [2] Adoniram Judson wrote to Ann Haseltine, his fiancée: "As every moment of the year will bring you nearer the end of your pilgrimage, may it . . . find you more prepared to hail the messenger of death as a deliverer and a friend." [3] Men of this inflexible temper and upward-directed gaze were not likely to be easily upset by hardship or misfortune.

William Carey was rather an exception in that his *Enquiry* deals almost exclusively with the present condition of the heathen world. This was because he was so much better acquainted with conditions than the average missionary who knew little more than that those people were lost without the gospel.

The principal ideas which impelled missionary effort were somewhat as follows: (1) The message of the gospel deals with immortal souls rather than transitory lives. (2)

Our guide in the conduct of the enterprise is the example of the apostles as recorded in inspired Scriptures. (3) This record presents preaching as the approved method ordained by God for the conversion of men. (4) Since this method is commended by God, we must assume it to be sufficient and that other methods derive their value only from their contribution to it.

Some striking statements reflect this view. Rufus Anderson, an early secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, whom Dr. Robert E. Speer calls the foremost American missionary administrator, speaks thus: "The apostolic missions ought to be regarded as substantially the model for Christian missions to the heathen in all subsequent ages." [4] "That record being inspired, it is of course infallibly correct," [5] "the missionary . . . is an ambassador from the Sovereign Lord to benighted men in a state of rebellion, with a message of mercy." [6] It is reasonable to suppose that "no elaborate process of education is needful to make the people understand his message . . . the heathen *know* that they are sinners." [7] The proclamation of the gospel was so all-important that other matters might be neglected. "In ways we now think not of, God will provide employment and sustenance for the outcast convert and for his starving family; and all the more readily and better, perhaps, for missionaries attending only to the especial work he has given them to do." [8] The work of missions "looks beyond the physical sufferings and necessities of man, and contemplates him as a sinner against a holy and just God, and exposed to endless wrath." [9] "This work acknowledges no necessity of any auxiliary means or preparatory process." [10]

The ideal held up to the missionary was to proclaim the way of salvation to as many as possible and warn of the

wrath to come, to be a sort of spiritual Paul Revere. Dr. Royal Wilder, father of Robert P. Wilder and a most devoted missionary of the old school, "listed some three thousand towns and villages in which he had preached" during a three months' period for a series of years.[11] It is evident that the time spent in each village must have been exceedingly brief. Dr. Wilder, however, was a zealous advocate of schools. Alexander Duff criticized these sporadic efforts.[12]

Since it sent out its first missionaries, American Christianity has been exposed to a new universe of thought. Not only has the amount of available knowledge been multiplied manyfold but the methods of attaining it have been revolutionized by improved techniques. Moreover, agencies for the diffusion of this knowledge have grown so that many school children today are familiar with facts which their grandparents never imagined. It seems not improbable that there has been a greater accumulation of information through research since the beginning of the twentieth century than in all the previous history of the race. Much of this knowledge is recognized as inadequate and some of the theories built upon it are tentative. But an immense amount is of enduring value and must affect all the future extension of Christianity.

In this connection there has arisen the experimental method. It consists in taking, as far as possible, all factors into account and modifying procedure accordingly. This method is most effective in situations where the conditioning factors can be adequately assessed. When we ascend to the planes of mind and spirit, where imponderables count for so much, mathematical certainty is impossible. The operations of the grace of God seem unpredictable. The Spirit bloweth where it listeth but this is no excuse for

parking our intelligence outside the premises. If we cannot absolutely control results we can at least influence them by careful attention to the conditions involved. In dealing with individuals, some of our most earnest and spiritual pastors are employing certain methods borrowed from psychoanalysis.

We hear warnings that social reconstruction and systems of education are not sufficient for redemption.[13] No intelligent Christian imagines that they are sufficient, but persons without interest in social reconstruction and education are less than Christian. As substitutes for Christian evangelism and nurture they are admittedly inadequate, but as essential parts of Christian evangelism and nurture they are highly important.

We cannot afford to neglect either the fundamental truth on which the missionary enterprise was originally based or the further insights which have been gained since. It is fortunate that great meetings of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem in 1928 and at Madras in 1938 brought together leading Christians of great intellectual and spiritual maturity from all over the world, East and West. These conferences have reaffirmed the central message of Christianity but have also undertaken to do justice to the newer viewpoints. The official statement of the Council at Jerusalem contains the following:

> We believe in a Christlike world. We know nothing better; we can be content with nothing less. . . . Our fathers were impressed with the horror that men should die without Christ. . . . We share that horror; we are impressed also with the horror that men should live without Christ.[14]

At Madras, in connection with the training of the ministry, special stress was laid on the application of the Christian faith to all types of individual and corporate living.[15]

> Christian love cannot be indifferent to economic suffering either within or without the household of faith.[16] . . . The comprehensive [rural] program includes: better agriculture, better health, better recreation, better homes, better economic organization, the widening of intellectual horizons, the enrichment of rural life through music, drama, and other forms of the arts, the development of community spirit, as well as the vitally important work of Christian preaching and teaching, and guidance in worship, fellowship, and service.[17]

This broader program of adult education has been found especially useful in approaching non-Christians. It is the nature of Christianity to minister to need wherever found. The Good Samaritan rendered physical and financial aid because he found a man wounded and stripped. He did not do this in order to convert the man to Samaritanism, but it is safe to say that the latter would have his aversion to Samaritan doctrines modified by his experience. Missionary material ministrations are not a bait which would be withheld if there seemed to be no prospect of securing a conversion. Hospital patients are not compelled to listen to a sermon before receiving treatment. Christian service is rendered because its reward is the ability and opportunity to serve better. Its spirit is outgoing, only regretful when lesser benefits are accepted and greater ones refused.

In dealing with non-Christians the way may sometimes be open to begin with a verbal presentation of the Christian message. There has been, however, a tendency to overestimate the ability of unsophisticated villagers to comprehend this. In other cases it may be better first to illustrate the Christian life by friendliness and fellowship. Dr. Frank C. Laubach, in his recent book, *The Silent Billion Speak*, tells of his profound discouragement when he first under-

took work among the fanatical Moros at Lanao, in the Philippine Islands. The suggestion came into his mind that he tell a Moslem priest that he wanted to study his sacred book. This brought immediate response. It was discovered that Moslems considered four books to be holy: the Law of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Gospel of Jesus, and the Koran of Mohammed. Dr. Laubach declared that he knew the first three as they knew the fourth and suggested that they should share their knowledge. Together they read passages from the Koran, from the Old Testament, and the entire Gospel of Luke. Hadjis, pilgrims to Mecca, went about selling Bible portions. When Dr. Laubach left the country the Moslem leaders followed him to the coast, crowded the deck, kissed him good-by, and prayed for his safe journey.[18]

The work of Dr. and Mrs. William H. Wiser, as described in their book, *Behind Mud Walls,* is another illustration of this approach. They emphasize the importance of a sympathetic understanding, in order to disarm suspicion, and ministration at the first only to needs which the people themselves present. Early attempts to put anything across will throw people on the defensive. But demonstration of sincere friendship will create willingness to accept what the missionaries have to offer.[19]

A third striking example comes from China. Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Hubbard conducted a project among people "uneducated, oppressed by poverty and disease, disorganized by jealousy and strife, constantly in real fear of soldiers, in imaginary fear of magic and evil spirits, yet hopeful, thrifty, law abiding, and good natured." [20] The Hubbards selected a village which welcomed their project of social reconstruction although there were no Christians in it. The heads urged them to study their needs and work

with them for the solution of their problems, especially those of education, livelihood, and health.

A literacy class had proved a failure. The missionaries made constructive suggestions for renewing it; they offered to teach two days each week, the village people taking the other five. They secured advice on agriculture and health. The village invited them to come and live and provided a house. In this the Hubbards settled with two Chinese colleagues. They issued no program but were constantly on the lookout for help that was really wanted.

A class was requested for the study of religions in which Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism would be discussed. At the end of the first session the leaders asked to be told about Christianity. This was presented as a fulfillment of some of the best ideas in Chinese religion. The class grew from sixteen to over a hundred, including the most influential people.

As a result, thirteen family groups—forty-nine people in all—joined the church at Paotingfu, persons with knowledge not only of the teaching of Christianity but of its practical application to life.

This book has a double purpose: first, to call attention to the enormous task confronting the church today, the Christian education of village adults in Asia and Africa; second, to suggest that efforts to discharge this task should make large use of the experimental method. We need: (1) the formulation of our objectives for all phases of life with provision for individual and local differences and for different stages of growth; (2) a study of village psychology as conditioning all procedure; (3) a study of individual and group cases; (4) a study of methods both of initial approach and of subsequent nurture.

What is offered here is only an introductory sketch. The subject has been discussed in many missionary publications but so far as is known no single book has been devoted exclusively to this topic. The factual material has been gathered from printed matter and from conversations with some scores of missionaries. War conditions have hindered any extensive collection of information from the field. Some of the missionaries best qualified to contribute to the subject have not been available.

Several persons have read the first draft of the manuscript and made valuable criticisms. A special mention should be made of the help of Mr. John H. Reisner of Agricultural Missions, Inc.

In a number of places the writer has been skating on pretty thin ice and has probably broken through more times than he realizes. Generalizations rarely hold good for all parts of any country, much less for those of several countries. Conversations with missionaries have brought out many local exceptions. All statements of fact, however, are made on the basis of good authority. Corrections or constructive criticism will be thankfully received.

To treat this subject at all adequately would require much more extended study than it has been practicable to give, but it seemed better to present an introductory sketch with the hope of more thorough discussion later. War restrictions on paper have also made it necessary to omit subjects of importance and to deal with others in a cursory way.

The projects mentioned are, of course, only a few out of a large number. The same is true of the references cited. The Appendix contains a list of books for those who wish to study the subject further. A much longer list has been consulted in preparing the manuscript.

This book is addressed to those who are interested in the most successful prosecution of the foreign missionary enterprise, whether as administrators, as workers on the field, or as supporters. To some it may present possibilities they had not considered and a program more attractive than one they had commonly pictured.

For All of Life, by William H. and Charlotte V. Wiser, covers a broader range of subjects than the present book but overlaps to a great extent and furnishes many striking illustrations of the matters here treated. Even where the same instances are referred to, which is not often, the material presented is somewhat different so that the two books supplement each other.

Dr. Willis Lamott's pictorial pamphlet, "Into All the Villages," deals with the same subject and provides an excellent introduction.

A committee of missionaries, appointed by the Rural Missions Cooperating Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference, has been working for the past year in an attempt to formulate, on the basis of an extended study of missionary experience, the ideal outcomes of the presentation of the Christian message to rural people. The results of this highly important study will be published late in 1943 under the title, *The Christian Mission to Rural People.*

REFERENCES

In these references the books marked (**) are those considered most valuable for further study of the subject. Other books of special value are marked (*). It is unfortunate that many of these are out of print or published in other countries, but most should be accessible in missionary libraries. Books more popular in character are marked (P).

1. *History of the Church Missionary Society,* by Eugene Stock, I, pp. 59-60. London, Church Missionary Society, 1899.

2. *Memoirs of Robert Morrison,* compiled by his widow, I, p. 59. London, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839. (Out of Print)
3. *Life of Adoniram Judson,* by Edward Judson, p. 20. New York, A. D. F. Randolph, 1883.
4. *Foreign Missions, Their Relations and Claims,* by Rufus Anderson, p. 29. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1869. (Out of Print)
5. *Ibid.,* p. 30.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 160.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 160.
8. *Reports and Letters Connected with the Special Meetings of the Mahratta and Tamil Missions of the American Board in 1855,* Bombay Meeting, p. 109. (Out of Print)
9. *Ibid.,* Ceylon Meeting, p. 19.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 21.
11. *In This Generation,* by Ruth Wilder Braisted, p. 10. New York, Friendship Press, 1941.
12. *India, and India Missions,* by Alexander Duff, p. 314. Edinburgh, John Johnstone, 1839. (Out of Print) (*)
13. *The Nature and Destiny of Man,* by Reinhold Niebuhr, I, p. 96. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.
14. *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems of Thought and Life,* Vol. I of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, p. 406. Used by permission. (**)
15. *The World Mission of the Church,* p. 69. Report of the Madras Conference. New York, International Missionary Conference, 1939. (**)
16. *Ibid.,* p. 99. Used by permission.
17. *Ibid.,* p. 146.
18. *The Silent Billion Speak,* by Frank C. Laubach. New York, Friendship Press, 1943. (P *)
19. *Behind Mud Walls,* by Charlotte V. and William H. Wiser, pp. 170-171. New York, Richard R. Smith Co., 1930. (P **)
20. "New Life in Fan Village, North China," by Mrs. Hugh Hubbard, p. 3. New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1942. (*)

The population is so immense, the rate of its progress is on such a scale, the number of things to be learnt is so infinite, the necessity of learning them is so tremendously urgent, the cost of education even in the simplest and humblest style is of such enormous proportions, that the education of India can never be brought within manageable grasp unless we have a scheme of education which is indispensably inclusive of attention to the adult.

—K. T. Paul, quoted in *Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education,* by A. B. Van Doren

And Jesus went about all the cities and the *villages,* teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness. But when he saw the *multitudes,* he was moved with compassion for them, because they were distressed and scattered, as sheep not having a shepherd. Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest.

—*Matthew* 9:35-38

Prolog

WHY ADULT EDUCATION?

THE STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION WAS MAKING AN address in our town. We were asked to entertain him overnight. After his speech, we sat around the fire and had a long talk. The Commissioner had discussed the achievements of American education and his mind was still working on the subject.

"We certainly have made a pretty good job of education in this country," he remarked.

"It is a privilege to hear one so well posted as you are," I replied. "My knowledge is only that of the average layman."

"You are just the sort of person I like to deal with," said the Commissioner, "intelligent and interested to know more. Let me mention some things which I had to omit in my talk tonight.

"First, American education is not a class affair. In Europe elementary education has been provided for the masses, but secondary and higher education only to a small extent. Bright children may obtain scholarships, but in general it is expected that they shall not proceed further than the elementary school. Here in America we encourage children to go to high school, and we have a much larger percentage enrolled there than anywhere else in the world.

In some of our states over fifty per cent of the young people of high school age are in school. Our state universities make it possible for those with very moderate means to get higher education. In particular, we specialize in the provision of secondary and higher education for girls and women.

"In the second place, our communities believe thoroughly in education and spend freely on it. The cost per capita in public schools rose from $15.70 in 1876 to $102.05 in 1926, more than a sixfold increase. When you drive around the country just notice the splendid school buildings, often the finest pieces of architecture in the landscape. Go inside and note the equipment. In towns and cities traffic has to be regulated when children are entering and leaving school. Then look at our magnificent college and university campuses. They are hardly equaled elsewhere in the world.

"I might remark in this connection that one of the reasons for this is that American men of wealth have been unique in their donations to education. John D. Rockefeller gave the University of Chicago over $34,000,000. In addition to the large gifts from individuals, the alumni of American colleges and universities are accustomed to get together and raise endowments of several million dollars for their institutions.

"A number of philanthropists have made large donations for education in more neglected communities. Extension courses and demonstrators take education right to the people.

"Another thing you may not know about is the experimental work that has been done in improving methods of education. Institutions are doing a great amount of research work and progressive schools are working out these

ideas in practice. America has made outstanding contributions to educational theory.

"Finally, we have a large crop of supplementary schools: business, technical, and miscellaneous. We have correspondence courses, public forums, and literally millions enrolled in women's clubs. We have floods of printed matter, constant platform addresses, and radios in the majority of homes. This is only a brief sketch, which could be continued for hours until you would have to acknowledge that the American educational system is one of the wonders of the world."

The Commissioner waved his hand and looked complacent. I had to admit that he had made a strong case, but I was not altogether satisfied. It seemed to me that there was something to be said on the other side.

"Well," I said, "we certainly seem to have put a lot into it. But I am sometimes disappointed with what we get out of it. I know a family of wealth whose sons and daughters attended leading universities and the most expensive finishing schools. Their conversation, I can testify, is mainly sporting and society gossip. Their opinions on public questions are crude and hard-boiled. Their reading is trivial in quality and limited in quantity. That family has put out quite a lot on education, but they have mighty little to show for it."

"Oh, of course we have a lot of that kind of thing," said the Commissioner. "You must not blame it on education. Those people had too much money and have been spoiled by it."

"How about another family I know?" I answered. "Money has not spoiled them. Every member of the family is in a factory and goes home at night dead-tired. After the meal is prepared and the dishes washed, they start for

a movie house or dance hall. All had some high school education, but they have no use for books."

"There the trouble is with our economic system," the Commissioner replied. "These people ought not to have such long hours of exhausting work. The little schooling they had failed to create in them mental interests."

"What do you say about Mr. and Mrs. X?" I asked him. "Mr. X is a businessman. He and his wife both graduated from small colleges. They seem just to have gone to seed intellectually. They spend most of their evenings at home, reading the newspaper and listening to the radio. Mrs. X occasionally gets through a light novel. What is the matter with a college education that washes out like that?"

"I must admit," responded the Commissioner, "that many college students fail to acquire the taste and ability to continue their education. If they were properly followed up and encouraged it might be different, but we have no machinery for reaching them. They lack the gumption to hunt out agencies that might help them."

"It looks to me," I remarked, "as if we had invested profusely in artillery and ammunition, but that we had not got the range on large sections of the population."

The Commissioner thought I was unreasonable.

"Now think of some of our rural schools," I continued. "They are little, one-room buildings with short terms, irregular attendance, and untrained teachers. The homes from which the pupils come have very few books and spend little time in reading them. Can you honestly say that these boys and girls are getting the kind of education they ought to have to make them worthy American citizens, fit to vote intelligently on national and international issues?"

The Commissioner looked serious. "We both have a case.

Against a black background gray seems bright; against a white background it seems dark. Compared with American education of a century ago, we have made progress that is nothing short of amazing. Compared with our best educational ideals or with what education may be one hundred years hence, we are a long way from home. Don't think that I fail to realize our shortcomings. The instances you mention are all too common.

"Education, like everything else—business, politics, the church—has taken traditional forms. In order to meet the need which seems most urgent, that of providing the rising generation with the tools of learning and a fund of general information, it has set up institutions. Now, institutions are funny things. It takes a lot of effort to build them up out of available resources. Rules have to be made and obeyed in order to secure efficiency. These usually become ruts and hinder other kinds of efficiency. All the energy of most institutions is absorbed in moving along the line of least resistance. To undertake anything more would demand a larger amount of funds and brains and pains than is anywhere in sight. Scrapping a manufacturing plant is a costly job, although it may be necessary to turn out a new kind of product. Now that you put me on the spot I must admit with no satisfaction that our educational plant, magnificent as it is, is not equipped to deal adequately with what I consider the most important problem of our time."

"What is that?" I asked.

"Adult education," he replied. "We all recognize that many leave school too early, for physical or economic reasons or because they find the going too hard; that many of those who stay do not get what they most need, because the content of the curriculum is not sufficiently re-

lated to their personal problems or because the methods of presentation are too abstract. After they leave they usually move into what William James calls 'a new universe of discourse' with altogether different interests and responsibilities. Academic education, no matter how good it is, may fall short in two respects. In the first place, adults have problems peculiar to themselves, such as those of parenthood and livelihood. No school can anticipate all of these. In the second place, our rapidly changing times keep creating situations which are absolutely unprecedented.

"The supreme task of the education of the future will be to follow up those who have left our institutions, study their difficulties and help them to bring their wits to bear on these in the most effective way. Just how this will be done I do not profess to predict. It will require immense resources. Perhaps after the need for military engines of defense and destruction is past we may be able to spend our billions on helping citizens to make the most of their abilities. We have been nibbling at this job and we must keep it in the focus of our consciousness. As it demonstrates its importance it will receive more of the thought and effort it deserves."

"Mr. Commissioner," I remarked, "it strikes me that you have hit the bull's-eye."

What the Commissioner said, and in particular his frank admission that American education with all its achievements had left a great field hardly more than touched, made a deep impression on me, and I kept turning it over in my mind.

A week later my wife insisted that I go with her to a missionary meeting which undertook to present a survey of rural conditions in Asia and Africa. This proved more interesting than I had expected. I learned a number of

things which gave me a jolt. In the first place, I had never realized what tremendous numbers of people were involved. Charts showed that there were three hundred million rural people in India alone and a still greater number in China. The black races in Africa are nearly all rural.

The second point which especially impressed me was their inaccessibility, physical and mental. The speaker reminded us of progress which had been made in overcoming the isolation of American farms. In addition to our 235,000 miles of railroad, the most remarkable recent development has been extension of surfaced roads and the widespread possession of automobiles. The time map of the country has shrunk to a fraction of its size in horse-and-buggy days. Crops can be moved great distances and products brought from the ends of the earth. Our mail system penetrates to the most remote farms. Still, as compared with city people, American farmers are isolated. As a class they have the reputation of being more conservative (the colloquial word is "sot") and more fatalistic on account of their dependence on the weather. They are not exposed to new ideas in the way that city folk are and do not own the latest gadgets. Their young people in general find country life dull and move away when they get the chance.

"Now contrast these conditions with the ones which obtain in rural Asia and Africa," he said. "There are nearly seven hundred thousand villages in India, the majority of them touched by neither railways nor surfaced roads. During the rainy season what roads there are are often impassable for vehicles. In China and Africa multitudes of villages are connected only by footpaths. This means that it is going to be much more difficult to reach and change these people, especially the latter.

"Think of the lack of mental stimulus," he continued.

"To begin with, the vast majority of adult villagers are illiterate. The latest Indian census indicates that only 27 per cent of men and 7 per cent of women in the whole country can read and write. Urban percentages will be considerably higher than this and rural percentages considerably lower. In China and Africa no adequate statistics are available. The Chinese written system is difficult to master, and scores of African languages have never been reduced to writing. Most of these villages are without schools and out of the reach of them. Newspapers are not taken, nor books bought."

The speaker then mentioned a fact which had not occurred to me: that these peasants are held back not only by ignorance, poverty, and the natural conservatism of farmers, but by their fear that any change of custom would bring calamity on the whole community. In parts of India the local deities are supposed to object strongly to any innovations. We were told that vaccination would be resisted on the ground that it would offend the smallpox goddess. After all this the speaker had the nerve to make a plea for adult education among these people. The idea seemed utterly quixotic. If we are only beginning to do effective work in this country, I thought, how can we hope to accomplish anything with such great numbers and against such great difficulties?

The speaker rested his case on a set of propositions. I jotted them down as he presented them:

(1) The rural population of Asia and Africa constitutes the largest single block of human beings in the world.

(2) The bulk of these people are still untouched by Christian effort. An American rural expert who made a survey of India estimated that there were Christians in only seven per cent of the villages.

(3) The majority of the children do not attend school and most of those who do attend leave early. In all these countries only a small proportion of rural children advance beyond the lower grades.

(4) As for the parents, those who have had any formal schooling are rare exceptions. The prospects are that most of them will die illiterate.

(5) In general, these villages are oppressed by an undue amount of ignorance, disease, poverty, social backwardness, and superstition. Knowledge that is accessible to us has never been brought within their reach.

(6) Most of these people cannot leave their homes and, therefore, Christian and social instruction must be taken to them. This greatly complicates the problem but does not make it less urgent.

(7) The governments are giving increasing attention to the promotion of rural welfare, but their resources are much less than ours and they have to meet more desperate needs of greater numbers. They cannot bear the whole burden.

(8) In any event, political agencies cannot supply the essential elements of Christian spirit which make social welfare most profitable. If their financial resources were altogether adequate their work would still lack this.

In closing, the speaker said, "I am pleading for what has necessarily been the most neglected department of the missionary enterprise—the Christian education of village adults. We must press literacy campaigns to teach as many as possible of these people to read. Then we must create literature which will help them to improve their physical, mental, and social conditions and promote their Christian nurture. In short, we must devise various methods for educating illiterates. Some of us missionaries who have become

oppressed with the weight of this cause are doing what we can along these lines, but we are handicapped by our limited staff and funds. We appeal to Christian people in this favored land to support us."

This last point aroused questionings in my mind. I went up to our guest after the meeting and had it out with him. I expressed my great interest in his address, which had been a revelation of world needs, but confessed I could not accept his final suggestion as to support of missionary effort. "In the first place," I said, "the missionary force is entirely too small to make any real dent on such vast needs as you have described. I have always understood that their main interest was evangelism, and that many of their supporters in this country would protest at any diversion of effort from this. Then, too, very few of your missionaries can have the technical training needed to deal with such difficult and complex problems as you have mentioned. The missionaries' well-meant appeal may easily do more harm than good by attempting reforms. They have no resources for the research work which in many cases might be necessary, nor for carrying out measures on a large scale. If I wished to meet the needs you have presented, I would think quite a while before investing my money in mission boards."

"Much of what you say is true," replied the speaker, "but there is something to be said on the other side. We realize, of course, that the missionary force is only a fraction of what it should be for an effective campaign, but it constitutes a large proportion of the persons who are supremely interested in the welfare of the rural people of Asia and Africa. The work which governments are able to do needs to be supplemented in every possible way. There is general testimony that no group is so devoted to pro-

moting the best interests of the people among whom they work as the missionaries.

"As to evangelism, I must admit that some missionaries make it their almost exclusive aim. On the other hand, it is being increasingly recognized that material and spiritual welfare should go together. Let me read you a statement adopted by final vote at the great world missionary conference held in Jerusalem in 1928:

"The one inclusive purpose of the missionary enterprise is to present Jesus Christ to men and women the world over as their Redeemer, and to win them for entrance into the joy of his discipleship. In this endeavor we realize that man is a unity, and that his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions—physical, mental, and social. We are therefore desirous that the program of missionary work among all peoples may be sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships.

"We have two responsibilities," he continued: "one, to those who are already evangelized. We desire these to be made physically, economically, socially, and mentally efficient in order that their Christian character may have the greatest influence and that they may be able to develop the implications of Christianity in all phases of life and that they may have the largest abilities to dedicate to Christian service.

"But we should not reserve our ministrations for those who profess Christianity. The more we demonstrate our sincere interest in serving lives as well as in saving souls the more we shall manifest the spirit of Christ and draw men to him. The more ready we are to share material benefits the more likely will men be to accept those which are spiritual. Personally, I have always felt that the more thor-

oughly a person is evangelized the more important it is that his native abilities should be developed, and the better equipped a person is to be an influential member of society the more important that he should be consecrated to Christian service.

"Of course, most missionaries lack the technical training demanded by such issues, but social studies are being given a greater place in the preparation of missionaries. Some have acquired considerable competence. In addition, they have qualifications which are unique. As I have already mentioned, they devote their lives to the people among whom they work. Their contacts are much more continuous than those of the average government official, who is too frequently moved about. They learn the vernacular and study the lives of their constituencies. Some missionary monographs are acknowledged to be models of thoroughness and real contributions to scientific sociology. A matter of great significance is that they disarm suspicion and gain confidence by their disinterested service. One of the greatest difficulties in promoting the welfare of peasants is to induce them to accept useful advice. Only those who are completely trusted can expect much success in this line. Missionaries appreciate the advantages at the disposal of the government in the way of research institutions and funds for large-scale projects. They perform an important service in calling the attention of villagers to provisions made by the government and in persuading them to make the most of these opportunities.

"Missionary schools have rendered great and indispensable contributions. Their students have gone out to leaven society with Christian and social ideals. The schools have not always exerted the influence they should. They need constantly to revise their methods in the interest of

greater efficiency. And their work must certainly be supplemented by firsthand contacts with homes and the community life of the villages. In particular, in view of the rising tide of nationalism that is leading Oriental governments to place increasing restrictions on schools under foreign auspices, it is more necessary than ever that supplemental agencies should be promoted as vigorously as possible.

"Finally, missionaries can supply what we believe is the supreme motivation, that which comes from Christianity. Students of the subjects we have discussed express their conviction that the greatest difficulties are psychological, the lack of clear vision and willingness to follow it. The ignorance of those village people is for the most part dense, their mental processes sluggish, their prejudices strong. They need the stimulus which Christianity brings to lift their outlook and break down their inhibitions. Not all missionaries are as effective as we could wish in realizing these possibilities, but no other group in proportion to their numbers has contributed so much. If the task is great and difficult, that is the more reason why we should strengthen the force which is most anxious to tackle it."

"You have certainly given me a lot to think about," I remarked.

. . . there is a way to conduct a literacy campaign so that it will constitute a perfect project in building the spirit of unselfish service—the spirit which the world needs. This is done by calling forth voluntary teaching, and by stimulating the spirit of love and mutual aid. . . . No literacy campaign can build character unless it is conducted by high, clean, unselfish, loving leaders. The work of teaching illiterates usually does most for character when carried on in the atmosphere of religious devotion. Missions and churches ought not to be discouraged by lack of money, for they have what is infinitely more valuable than money—the spirit of unselfish service.

—Frank C. Laubach, *Toward a Literate World*, pp. 5-6

Chapter One

MAKING RURAL PEOPLE LITERATE

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN CITIZEN DOES NOT WORRY MUCH about the problem of illiteracy. Very likely he has never to his knowledge met a person unable to read or write. Public notices are posted with the understanding that they will be intelligible to everyone. Advertisements take for granted that everyone can read them. We become conscious that there are such persons as illiterates only when we consult statistics in the World Almanac or read about men drafted into the army.

Once things were very different. Charlemagne was one of the great rulers of all time, but he never learned to read and write. All through the Middle Ages not only the peasants, but many persons of prominence were illiterate. At the opening of the French Revolution in 1789 more than half of the men and three-fourths of the women of France could not sign their names,[1] though this was three centuries after the invention of printing and in a country that was the center of culture and enlightenment. Through the centuries masses of mankind, and especially those in rural districts, have gone to their graves without any knowledge of written symbols. The languages of great numbers of them have never been reduced to writing.

During the past hundred years there has been a great extension of education in Western countries but some are still very backward. For instance, in Portugal, according to the census of 1930, over half the population was classed as illiterate, and in Bulgaria more than 50 per cent of the women were so classed. On the other hand, Northern European illiteracy had been practically eliminated. In the United States the percentage of the illiterate native whites above ten years of age was 1.5 per cent, among the Negroes 16.5.[2]

Now, literacy is only a tool the value of which depends on the skill with which it is mastered and on the material available for those who acquire it.* In this country, many can read only the simplest material and that with difficulty. For them the effort involved in reading is like that of persons who have studied a little French or Latin and have to concentrate to puzzle the sense out of a paragraph in either of these languages. Different types of reading demand different vocabularies. Those for whom the sporting page is altogether lucid might find a theological treatise quite obscure. For such persons to wade through a book is hard work. Since reading is not enjoyable they do as little of it as possible. An expert in adult education says:

* Commenting on this statement, Miss Ruth Ure, who was the only foreign woman member of the Council of the India Adult Education Association, writes: "Literacy is not only a tool . . . Ability to read in itself brings a new development of personality, a new confidence and assurance which is an end in itself. Learning to read changes the person and his outlook on life and on himself . . . To the learner the actual attendance at a class for learning to read is a real contribution to self-respect . . . The learning process makes its contribution to character. So does the competition and social contact involved with teacher and fellow members. When a man and his wife read together, as did my sweeper, there is an effect on the home and on the position of women." (Letter to writer.)

As a matter of fact, the number of persons who cannot read and write enough to meet the requirements of an ordinarily literate environment is reliably estimated to be approximately four times as great as the number of illiterates reported in the census.[3]

It seems unfortunate that, as in the case with so many other words, literacy is used as a blanket term to cover all stages of accomplishment in the mastery of written symbols. It is as if we bestowed the title piano player on the child agonizing over its first five-finger exercise as well as on the concert pianist, or of golf player alike on the beginner who averages twelve shots to a hole and the open champion.

What is the purpose of literacy? If it is to fulfill the immediate requirements for making a living, perhaps fourth-grade reading ability suffices. If it is to promote better living, much more is necessary. Speaking of work for illiterate students, Miss Kotinsky says:

These students are without knowledge of rudimentary hygiene. They have not the slightest notion about child care. They are without wisdom in the expenditure of their too meager money resources. Their diet is atrocious. They are unaware of the world beyond their dooryards. Their religious beliefs are primitive. How can anyone be so narrow of vision as to think that the skills of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, as such, are all they need by way of education? [4]

In order to create useful citizens, still more is necessary. In *Middletown* the Lynds comment on the fact that superficial education in a changing world results in new types of social illiteracy.[5]

Much of the difficulty is due to the fact that there is a comparative lack of reading material which tells people what they most want to know, is clear and simple in style,

and interesting enough to hold attention. This is due to what is known as the law of effective demand, since production is determined mainly by profits. Publishing is on a commercial basis and production is limited to what it pays to print. Newspapers are supported by their advertisements, but in order to reach the masses must be spiced for the popular taste. Publishers of books cater to those who can afford to buy them, who are likely to have had high school or college education. In consequence, libraries complain that there is not enough literature for those with only elementary schooling, informing them in an attractive way of the things they most need to know.

If such material existed in sufficient quantity, there would still be the problem of getting it circulated. Public libraries are a great help, but are not accessible to all who live in country districts. Miss Humble says: "As a general rule the collections of small village libraries are made up of miscellaneous books contributed from time to time as gifts. The libraries are open to the public for only a few irregular hours a week." [6] The people who most need information cannot get what they want at prices they can afford to pay.

I. Illiteracy in Asiatic and African Villages

In the non-Christian world, with the exception of Japan, the great majority of the population are still illiterate. In China and Africa, we have only estimates. Percentages vary in different sections, but probably on the average exceed 80 per cent. For all India, census figures for 1941 class 27 per cent of men and 7 per cent of women literate; 14 per cent of the total population. It must be kept in mind that literacy in cities and large towns is above

these averages, but in rural districts it is considerably below them.

Now, it would be a great mistake to conclude that persons who cannot read are necessarily lacking in shrewdness. Dr. Paul Harrison reports a conversation among Arab caravan men which strikingly illustrates this fact:

"Ibn Khalid's caravan passed along here four days ago. He had twelve camels with him, and five men."

"Were they well loaded?"

"No; only three of them were loaded at all, and the loads were light. Two were carrying dates and the third rice."

"Yes, and his fine white camel, the one he bought a year ago . . . has gone lame." [7]

All this from hoof- and footprints in the sand. A situation like that would give Sherlock Holmes a headache.

Professor King of the University of Wisconsin was filled with admiration at some of the methods of Chinese and Japanese farmers. There is considerable testimony as to the practical intelligence of peasants in various parts of the world. But, of course, as in every country, there are wide ranges both in native ability and in extent of knowledge. Some peasants are both obtuse and densely ignorant.

Handicaps of Illiteracy

But illiteracy is surely a great handicap. People unable to read are dependent almost entirely on local tradition. Ignorance of the outside world makes them conservative. For want of special stimulus, mental effort becomes increasingly distasteful. They follow as closely as possible in the old well-beaten tracks. They stand helpless outside the door of the great treasury of human learning without the key.

The illiterate farmer is frequently cheated by moneylenders. He makes his mark on a document that is unintelligible to him and later finds he has pledged himself for much more than he received. He cannot read government pamphlets on agriculture and health. If a Christian, he cannot read the Bible, the hymnbook, Christian literature, or other helpful material.

Dr. J. Merle Davis tells of an Indian family he saw in a railway station. The mother and children were weeping. It was discovered that they had paid for a ticket to a destination 150 miles farther on, but had been sold one to only this point by an agent who took advantage of their inability to read. They had been put off the train and were stranded.

Reasons for Illiteracy

There are many reasons for this illiteracy:

(1) China and Africa started late in the race against it.

(2) China and India have much greater numbers to deal with and much smaller resources at their disposal than wealthy Western nations.

(3) Inadequately developed communications have a direct bearing on education, since the influences which create desire for education do not spread readily among the people. Gertrude Emerson, who spent a year in a North India village of two hundred houses, large and prosperous and fairly accessible, said that hers was the only newspaper.[8]

(4) Book learning is not a matter taken for granted; in fact, the opposite is the case. Dr. F. D. Gamewell told the writer of a conversation he had with a donkey driver years ago on the road outside Peking. He asked the man how many children he had. The reply was: "I have six

mouths and one scholar." The best he could do was to send one more promising child to school while the others stayed at home to help with the work, growing up illiterate as their parents.

(5) Learning as administered has not been, for the most part, an appetizing dose. The rural districts get the worst teachers, mostly untrained and, with honorable exceptions, unenthusiastic about their work. There is a great amount of rote memorizing, the uses of which are not apparent to the scholars or their elders.

(6) Irregularity of attendance results from this, since children do not seem to miss much by staying away when they are needed for home chores. Frequent illness also keeps them at home.

(7) In many parts of the world languages have not yet been reduced to writing. There are proverbs and stories, but no written literature. Some of the dialects are spoken by such a comparatively small number that they cannot be expected to have printed material. A number of other languages have quite complicated systems of writing. Learning to read is therefore no easy job.

(8) In some cases the written and vernacular languages differ greatly. In order to read it is necessary to master an entirely different vocabulary. On this point we of the West might well recall that in medieval Europe all serious literature was in Latin. The spoken languages were not thought worthy of literary use. It was a great landmark in Western civilization when Dante wrote *The Divine Comedy* in the despised Italian vernacular and thereby gave it literary respectability. Gradually other European languages followed suit and created literatures of their own, so that today Latin has disappeared as a medium of popular written communication.

There are three great problems connected with literacy: (1) How shall we teach people to read and retain their ability by exercise? (2) How shall we provide literature that is most needed in sufficiently simple style? (3) How shall we put this literature into the hands of those who need it most, rather than those who can pay most for it?

II. How Remove Illiteracy?

In removing illiteracy the main reliance has been on systematic instruction in schools. Those countries are most literate where resources permit a well-organized school system and efficient teacher training. In this country, illiteracy is greatest in those rural sections where schools are poorest and attendance most irregular.

Among the rural people of Asia and Africa the great majority have never been to school at all and will never be able to go. Of their children only a minority are in school at present, and many of these stay too short a time to acquire literacy.

For China and Africa we lack adequate statistics as to elimination from school, but there is general testimony that there is great congestion in the lower elementary grades with comparatively small numbers advancing to secondary and higher education. America has always had this same problem, but only since 1900, when educational authorities began to make systematic school surveys, have we realized its extent. From India comes this specific instance, of conditions in the villages served by American Mennonite Missions. Miss Van Doren reports that the average school life of a boy is two and one-half years and that of a girl is one and one-half. Only 13 per cent of those completing three years are literate for more than three years after leaving. Forty-three per cent stay in school not

more than one year and only 7 per cent complete four years.[9]

It seems safe to say that conditions are no better than this in thousands of rural districts in Asia and Africa. Under such circumstances, the futility of depending exclusively on schools to create a literate population should be sufficiently obvious.

In perhaps the majority of sections, villages have less than five hundred inhabitants, not enough to support a good school. For want of transportation facilities, consolidation is not practicable. Even when village schools are established, they get the poorest teachers and the methods used are not those which promote transfer to life of what is taught in school. The education received is therefore not only scanty, but altogether lacking in vitality.

Under these circumstances we may take one of two different attitudes. On the one hand, we may concede that all this is regrettable, but accept it as inevitable. We can let these people go down to their graves with such evangelism as we can provide for them, but leaving them otherwise ignorant. We can trust that with the growth of educational facilities the next generation may be better off. On the other hand, we may resolve to direct special effort at those whom schools will never reach, and do for them what we can, though we cannot do what we would.

Missionaries have always been pioneers in education. The Protestant tradition has stood for the ability of every Christian to read the Bible for himself. Missionaries have considered it a primary obligation to put the Bible into the hands of their converts. Carey, Morrison, Judson, and many others have been notable translators. Other missionaries have invented systems of writing for languages which were without them.

In illustration of this the American Bible Society has published a volume, *The Book of a Thousand Tongues*, which contains samples of translations of the Bible into 1,018 languages and dialects, many of them in symbols invented by the missionaries.

Special Qualifications of Missionaries

Missionaries have some special qualifications for reaching village adults. In the first place, they hold in trust a message for the benefit of every person, rich or poor, learned or ignorant. They have special sympathy for those who have been neglected. Although the missionary body constantly shifts, many individuals remain in the same place for several decades, mastering the vernacular, winning confidence, and making friendships. Their service is disinterested. They supply those with whom they work with a special motive for learning. Miss Ure writes: "One of the most heard phrases on all lips is, 'For such work the great essential is a missionary spirit.' "

With a very natural desire to do everything possible to facilitate reading, they have been interested in every attempt to simplify systems of writing and forms of expression. They have taken the lead in compiling dictionaries and grammars.

The Chinese written system, as already stated, presents some peculiar difficulties. There are many thousand characters, some with several meanings. Even a knowledge of over two hundred so-called radicals and nearly nine hundred phonetics, of which the bulk of characters are composed, may furnish no adequate indication of the meaning or pronunciation of a given character. Over a hundred years ago a missionary remarked that mastery of such a system required the age of Methuselah and the patience of

Job. Under such circumstances the illiteracy of Chinese peasants was no cause for wonder.

"Jimmy" Yen and the Thousand Characters

One of the attacks on this fortress was the so-called Thousand Character system which is generally associated with Y. C. James Yen, familiarly known as "Jimmy," a graduate of Yale University. He volunteered to do welfare work with Chinese coolies sent to France for manual labor during World War I. He writes:

Living with them day and night, I came to know them in a way that I had never known them before. Intelligent and industrious as they were, most of them were unschooled, unable to read or write even their own language. They were desperately homesick, but could not write letters home. They were most eager to know what was going on in the war, but they were unable to read the newspapers.

. . . I drafted a crude system of teaching the Chinese language, which became the forerunner of the "Thousand Character System," and was later passed on to other workers, . . . The work was unusually successful, so much so that I was urged to go to Paris to publish a paper . . . in "Pai-Hua," the plain language of the people, containing important facts about the war and about China, especially the home districts of the men.

One day I received a very touching letter from a Chinese workman who had learned to read in France. Literally translated it ran as follows:

"Mr. Yen, Big Teacher:

Ever since the publication of your paper, I began to know about everything under heaven. But your paper is so cheap. It costs only one centime a copy. Maybe you have to close down your work very soon; so I enclose herewith one hundred and fifty francs which I have saved during my last three years of labor in France."

That was a great revelation to me. . . . Then and there I resolved that upon my return to China I would dedicate my life to the education of the millions of illiterate men and women, boys and girls, especially those who had passed the school age and who had had no normal opportunity for schooling.[10]

This Thousand Character system really contains about thirteen hundred characters of the most needed words. It is widely used throughout China in teaching people to read.

An interesting description of the methods used in one community is given in the statement by Dr. Hugh Hubbard of the Congregational Mission in North China. He says:

. . . There was a deep need felt by the leaders in the Christian Church for some means of awakening the life of its own membership, and also of some project whereby the Christian Church might do more to meet the fundamental needs of Chinese society as a whole. . . .

We decided to try Dr. Yen's thousand character system through our evangelistic staff of about thirty men and women in the fourteen counties where we had organized work.

We started by picking out a group of villages in which our evangelists had contacts, usually a group of Christians or perhaps non-Christian friends. . . . Our evangelists first interviewed a few key men . . . [to] whom . . . the idea of teaching illiterates to read and write must first be "sold" as a worth-while Christian and patriotic piece of work. Having gained the confidence and approval of the key men, it was found necessary to have a meeting of some kind. . . . The subject of this meeting was mass education. . . . The evils of illiteracy were graphically pointed out to the crowd by means of posters or stories of various kinds. . . . After some talk of this kind, the crowd would be asked: "How many of you know how to read and write?" Perhaps . . . two out of ten would hold up their hands.

"How many would like to know how to read and write?" All would hold up their hands. "Why don't you learn?" The answers would be: "I have no time; I have to work in the fields. . . ." ". . . It costs money to go to school." The speaker would then say: "We have now a way of teaching you how to read and write without taking any of your time away from your farm work, by using the long winter evenings. . . . We will organize evening classes and we won't charge you any tuition. We will find a volunteer teacher. All it will cost you will be the price of this little textbook—five cents a month. Each day you learn ten characters; in one month you will learn at least 250 characters, and in four months you can read and write one thousand characters. . . . You can subscribe to this little paper called *The Farmer,* which costs only 15 cents a year and will bring you the news every ten days about what goes on in this country; what is happening in the rest of the world; which will help you in your farming methods; will tell you about the history of China; teach you new songs, new games. . . ." [11]

Examinations were given at the end of a course, with a public ceremony in which the successful ones received diplomas with the title of "Literate Citizen." They were urged to subscribe to *The Farmer.*

The results of this project were as follows: In the course of five years over 20,000 were enrolled in classes; over 5,000 were graduated. There was cooperation with about 2,000 non-Christian teachers, village leaders, officials, and gentry. There was friendly contact with 20,000 of the best ages and most progressive element in the villages. There was acknowledged leadership of the Christian church in the social reconstruction of this area. There was an increase in church membership in five years of about 1,300, or 50 per cent, largely made up of young literates.[12]

Another method employed in China is the phonetic, of which there are different systems. An alphabet of thirty-

nine characters has been invented, using parts of Chinese ideograms as a basis. This represents sounds of spoken words, though without the Chinese "tones" or vocal inflections which give the same syllable different meanings. While it is claimed that with its use people can be taught to read in a short time, it does not enable persons to read books in the ordinary Chinese language. The same is true of the so-called Romanized—Chinese written in Roman letters. This is most used in the dialect regions of southeastern China, but has not taken strong hold elsewhere.

Work of Dr. Laubach

The great contemporary apostle of illiterate adults is Dr. Frank C. Laubach.[13] He lays great stress on the fact that creation of a spirit of unselfish service is essential if knowledge is to be a real benefit. Adults, he says, can learn much faster than children because they already have a considerable vocabulary. The attitude of the teacher is highly important. It must be sympathetic and encouraging, never asking questions which the student cannot answer. Students should be stimulated to learn by the suggestion that they do this in order to teach others and that they may read the Bible and hymnbooks and other useful literature. Dr. Laubach says that the indispensable secret of his method is love. Indifference, impatience, or disapproval on the part of the teacher must be strictly suppressed. "He should under no circumstances criticize the religion of the people with whom he is working. If he lives the life of loving service, his life will cause the people themselves to criticize whatever is wrong in their own customs."

Dr. Laubach had been in the Philippines for over a dozen years when he began his work in 1929 among the Moros. After investigation it was decided to make use of

the Roman alphabet in which nothing had ever been printed for these people. In his book, *Toward a Literate World*, Dr. Laubach describes his methods in detail. He used a chart with key words containing all the limited number of syllables in the Moro dialect. In the very first days a two-page paper was mimeographed to provide reading matter, and soon afterward a printing press was secured and many booklets published. "This is a crucial point, for if the student does not read regularly and acquire the habit he will soon forget what he has so easily learned."

When funds from America were cut down, Moro leaders made their teachers continue without salaries. The spirit of the community received an uplift and reforms were instituted which would otherwise have been impossible. A Good Life Society was organized, with cooperation of Christians and Moslems in a program of ideals.

The campaign was first extended to other parts of the Philippines and later to India and Africa. New difficulties were met in the shape of elaborate alphabets, sometimes with as many as two hundred and forty-seven distinct shapes to be memorized, and in the fact that "the vocabulary which is employed in well written Tamil is very different from that which is spoken in ordinary conversation." "One of the major reasons for India's high percentage of illiteracy is the tremendous difficulty that confronts the illiterate before he can understand the vocabulary in books and newspapers."

In this same book, Dr. Laubach sums up his conclusions: (1) India is ready for a literacy campaign for which many experiments have prepared her. (2) A tremendous lot has to be done with limited resources; therefore pupils must be asked to teach others. (3) The available literature is too

difficult for those who have just learned to read. (4) Printed material must be based on words which literates actually use in conversation. (5) Specialists must be trained in the problems of teaching adults and in popular journalism suitable for new literates. (6) Alphabets must be simplified. (7) Full-time directors must be trained.

In a second book, *India Shall Be Literate,* Dr. Laubach describes further developments with fervent enthusiasm. Experimenters have been comparing notes on methods and results, and revising their work accordingly. Dr. Laubach is keen for new ideas, but tests thoroughly any practice before endorsing it. He emphasizes the fact that adults require special methods. Illiterates have an inferiority complex and need the utmost appreciation and encouragement. Their mistakes must be ignored and their efforts praised. More appeals should be made to their reason and less to their memory than is the case with children.

Lessons for them must be interesting, easy, and brief. They must be constructed so that they can be taught by anyone, taught to others as soon as learned, and learned without the aid of a teacher. The only hope of making the bulk of Indians literate is in inducing those who learn to read at once to set about teaching others. Some remarkable results along these lines are mentioned. People master the primers with amazing speed and then are consumed with enthusiasm to teach others.

Hundreds of communities have caught the fever. Prominent officials are giving their earnest support. The head of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur declares that this campaign should transform the illiterate into an intelligent patriot, banish the shadow of crime, poverty, and disease, and eradicate the evil of indebtedness. The campaign should undoubtedly help in all these directions

and it is perhaps better to be a trifle dithyrambic rather than skeptical; but in view of the fact that Japan is a literate nation and Germany an educated one, we must not expect too much from the mere ability to read and write. Still it is a wonderful thing to have people take this first step with such enthusiasm and zeal. It is a great blessing that the movement has such a spark plug as Dr. Laubach, a remarkable combination of energy, scientific temper, and Christian love.

From reading reports and from conversation with missionaries one receives the impression of various differences of attitude of the missionary body toward literacy campaigns. Some are ardent enthusiasts and are giving time and energy to this phase of the work. Some realize its importance but are so loaded with other responsibilities that they are unable to undertake the necessary effort. Dr. Newell Booth, of the Belgian Congo, says that, while any intelligent adult may be taught to read in less than three months, only a small proportion are yet literate, least so in the villages. The difficulties are lack of time, supervision, and the working out of courses. Some missionaries seem to fail to realize the possibilities of the improved methods. Their attempts in the past have been discouraging because their methods failed to arouse enthusiasm in pupils and the material they offered lacked appeal. They report the great majority of their Christian constituency still illiterate and are doing little to remedy the situation. Some workers are discouraged by local difficulties such as the number of dialects, lack of common phonetic systems, apparent indifference of the community. African women ask what is the use of book learning for them. Finally, some simply fail to appreciate the strategic importance of literacy in building up the Christian church.

An outstanding reason why missionaries should undertake literacy campaigns is that these bring them into line with worthy national aspirations. As the spirit of nationalism roots deeper and reaches higher, leaders are smitten with the realization of the handicap of an illiterate population. Anyone who will help to remove this becomes a welcome assistant. Missionaries who sacrifice sufficiently for this and other forms of public welfare commend themselves to all intelligent citizens.

III. How Provide Material for Those Barely Literate?

Merely teaching the symbols of reading is only an introduction. These are the tools with which people must work. The vital issue is the use which is made of this learning. Unless it is exercised, it will be lost. Unless it is used to acquire helpful information, nothing will be gained. To invent written symbols for a language, to simplify symbols which are difficult, and to assist the illiterate multitudes in mastering them are tremendous tasks. But these tasks are only the beginning of the battle. The door has been opened but not entered. The next move is to prepare reading material simple in form and exceedingly inexpensive but significant in content, which will tempt people to make use of their learning and therefore to retain it and to become more literate by reading further.

This raises what Dr. Laubach seems to consider the most important problem of all—the creation of literature suitable for the barely literate person. The progressive American school lays great stress on providing a wealth of books interesting to children, in the vocabulary of those who have finished the first and second years' work. To hand these youngsters a high school textbook would halt them

in their progress. Many of our children read voraciously because they have so much simple and attractive literature, beginning with Peter Rabbit and Benjamin Bunny, and leading upward by gradual steps.

The tragedy of the foreign field is that we have comparatively so little material for those in the first stages of literacy suited both to their abilities and to their needs. In many languages literature of any kind is scarce. The finding of the Madras Missionary Conference was that "there are vast areas where there is little or no literature of any kind; there are churches whose whole Christian literature could be tied up in a pocket handkerchief." [14]

Since 1927 there has been some missionary publication in 247 African languages and dialects, but in 118 of these only one book and in 212 not more than ten. In only three languages have more than one hundred books been published in a period of ten years.[15] Owing to the activity of the Committee on Books for Africa, headed by Miss Margaret Wrong, this number is now being systematically increased but it will be a long time before conditions can be considered at all satisfactory.

A still more serious fact is that existing books are for the most part as impossible for the beginner as a high school textbook would be for a graduate of the second reader. We need a rich provision of books in second-reader vocabulary in order to induce pupils of our literacy campaigns to continue reading.

Dr. Laubach lays great stress on the necessity of beginning with the spoken vocabulary of the learner. Even in this country the colloquial and the literary vocabulary are markedly different. In conversation we constantly use expressions which would seem inelegant in print, and in reading aloud to children we often find it necessary to para-

phrase the printed page into more simple language. In some other countries the difference between the vernacular and the literary language is much greater.

The first step is to gather from conversation a list of the words people actually use in daily speech. Gradually more literary words should be introduced, each repeated ten times so that it may be mastered. The material, though simple in style, must not be childish; it must appeal to adult interests, helping people to do something they already want to do, and must be enjoyable through its similarity to popular folk tales. It must be attractive in appearance, with clear type and if possible with illustrations; finally, it must be cheap enough for poverty-stricken people to buy.

Contrast of Conditions, East and West

Consider conditions in this country. Publishers print books which promise to sell and decline manuscripts which do not. Schools furnish a fine market for textbooks, which publishers are eager to capture. Consequently we have readers and arithmetics of graded difficulty, beginning with those in the simplest language. Juvenile literature also is popular, and we have a plentiful amount. The public finds fiction its most congenial reading, so it is copiously supplied and its tastes in this respect are carefully studied. With such a large proportion of our people receiving more than elementary schooling, there is also a demand for popular nonfiction, such as current events and scientific facts strikingly presented. Efficiency literature for workers of all grades and the results of scholarship have a steady though more limited market. Finally, the cultured rich make it worth while to publish books on any subject which appeals to a not too strenuous intellectual curiosity.

Contrast our conditions with those of the non-Christian world. We have a tremendous market for books and periodicals because of an immense literate constituency in all parts of the world where English is spoken; an extensive literature in this language inherited from the past and constantly increasing; a comparatively high standard of living which enables great numbers to buy and own books; and a multitude of writers, publishers, and booksellers.

In the non-Christian world the literates in any one language are much fewer. With the exception of Japan, they are drawn mostly from the student class. Of popular literature no one language has more than a small fraction of the amount available in English. Many language areas represent such comparatively small constituencies that they can never hope to have more than a few books, perhaps not more than portions of the Bible. Their standards of living are much lower, especially in rural sections. There is no commercial inducement to write, publish, or sell books. Moreover, the great bulk of the literature is not suitable for those being instructed in literacy campaigns.

Demand and Supply

At every important missionary gathering in recent times, the tragic lack of funds for missionary literature has been mentioned as a conspicuous hindrance to the work. For instance, the Madras Conference stresses the need of material for pastors, Christian workers, educated Christians and non-Christians, and especially for students.[16] The testimony of missionaries interviewed on this subject is both copious and emphatic. Their repeated call is for a greater supply of literature especially adapted to the ability and interest of barely literate adults. They assert that the villager cannot be expected to make the necessary mental

exertion unless he has something to read which is quite simple and which furnishes manifest practical help or entertainment.

Some hopeful beginnings have been made by the missionary body. At various centers lists are published of available material. A notable example is *Books for Africa,* a Quarterly Bulletin of the International Committee for Christian Literature for Africa. This contains articles relating to the promotion of literacy, lists of recent vernacular publications and of pertinent literature in English. It sets a high standard. Note also the catalog of the National Christian Council of China on material in the Thousand Characters. This lists material prepared by a dozen different publishers on the Thousand Characters, methods of teaching them, with charts, wall pictures, songs, pamphlets on popularizing agricultural science and on a variety of subjects for Thousand Character graduates, including religious material. An interesting example of what we ought to have is a leaflet prepared by Mrs. George Barbour, formerly of Peking, called "What to Do When the Baby Comes," using not more than two hundred different Chinese characters, for the benefit of women whose reading vocabulary is limited. Miss Margaret Brown mentions pamphlets of thirteen pages with pictures and using only three hundred characters and selling for two cents. Experiments are proceeding along these lines, especially in recent years.

Governments have issued pamphlets on health but these need to be greatly multiplied. There are also government bulletins on the best agricultural methods but these too often reach only a small proportion of the people who need them. The field of social welfare and of the wise use of leisure has been less provided for. Nothing, of course,

could be expected from such sources on distinctively Christian problems.

In conversation with many missionaries the writer has been impressed with the response of rural people to popular magazines, simple in content and vocabulary, and interesting. These contain material for social welfare as well as that which is devotional. Perhaps the most successful of these is *The Christian Farmer,* first published in North China. Before the Japanese invasion its circulation was 40,000 copies, each of which probably had several readers and a still larger number of hearers.

It has since been moved to West China, where it has continued with a reported circulation greater than ever. Magazines of this type often incur deficits because they have to be sold so cheaply. This discourages further undertakings which would be of great benefit. They far more richly deserve a liberal income than do the bulk of periodicals on the tables of Western living rooms.

A missionary calls attention to the fact that literature issued on the field is produced by printers whose wage scales are much lower than those in this country and that, therefore, small funds go a long way. That is the more reason why the missionary press should be subsidized to increase the quantity and quality of their production. Illustrations of books and pamphlets are needed to add attractiveness.

A proposal more frequently made than adopted is that prizes be offered which will make it possible for nationals to produce the sort of literature most needed. Here is an additional challenge to Christians wishing to promote the missionary enterprise. They will find no such attractive investment in the reports of the New York Stock Exchange as in the claims of Christian literature for the peasants of

Asia and Africa. The sum of $500 or in many cases even $100 would initiate a project that would bear abiding fruit.

IV. Getting Literature Circulated

The final problem of literacy which Dr. Laubach considers on the whole the weakest link in the chain of the enterprise is getting materials adequately circulated. He says: "If it is worthwhile making him literate, it is equally worthwhile talking him into buying this new literature. Indeed, this is the final process without which the steps that have gone before would be useless. Salesmanship is therefore the third side of the literacy triangle."

The problems of circulation are: (1) to bring suitable literature within physical reach; (2) to "sell"; (3) to arrange for follow-up.

(1) Great numbers of villages are now reached by the mails. In this way magazines can be circulated to subscribers. New subscribers must be reached by personal contacts. An agent in missionary work has always been the colporteur who traveled over the country with Bibles and portions of Scripture. Missionary literature is full of stories of conversions as a result of his efforts. We need a great extension of this work. In the non-Christian world the book agent is not such a pest as he sometimes is in this country. He is of strategic importance as he goes about from village to village, taking printed pages which may be read and reread long after he has left. Without such systematic visitation it is hard to see how village adults are to be provided with material.

(2) Today selling is becoming a specialized art. It consists in discovering live nerves of impulses and in prodding them. The American public, especially in urban centers, is

sensitive to the appeal of novelty. It spends freely for all sorts of trash. Asiatic villagers are just beginning to catch this fever. Great numbers are still affected by what the Germans call "Dürflosigkeit," wantlessness, stolid unresponsiveness to new ideas.

Consider the relative tasks of the book agent in this country and in rural Asia or Africa. Here we take it for granted that everyone can read and is accustomed to spending a certain amount on books. We have numerous motives to which appeal is made. This book or magazine is a thriller; it is what everyone is reading; it is a best seller; it will put you up to date; it will help you in your business or household work; it will get you a better job; it will help you to be more attractive; it will lower your golf score. All these alluring statements are duds when addressed to the great majority of peasants on the mission field. The average book is about as attractive to him as a treatise on higher mathematics would be to the tired businessman.

In order to sell literature, general interest must be cultivated. Films both arouse new interests, which will stimulate the desire to learn to read, and supply information to those who remain illiterate.

It seems probable that the majority of the villagers considered in this book will never attain literacy. Their numbers are so great and the efforts to teach them so comparatively limited. Consequently, every educational method supplementary to that of the printed page should be employed. In addition to the spoken word visual material is of great value. Posters, pictures, slides, and films are all in use. In particular, the Department of Social and Industrial Research of the International Missionary Council of New York City carried out a most interesting experiment among the Bantu people of East Africa. The account con-

tained in *The African and the Cinema,* by Notcutt and Latham, gives a fascinating account of the methods employed, the difficulties met, the success achieved, and the conclusions reached.

(3) The weakest part of education and religious work is the lack of follow-up. The water of countless rivers runs into the sand. From various sections come encouraging reports of the creation and use of local libraries. In other places it has been said that they attract no attention except that of white ants. Local human dynamos are needed to revitalize waning interest and stimulate further demand.

Circulating literature is another project which demands subsidies. It cannot be expected to support itself. It is generally agreed that people should pay what they can because they will value purchases more than gifts, but even cost price may sometimes be prohibitive.

Here is a great field for missionary activity. Can any Christian contemplate the possibility of these campaigns and remain unmoved? Think of what even small sums may do in the way of furnishing reading matter on every phase of human uplift—physical, mental, social, and religious. Persons for whom missionary appeals mean only contributions to be spent they know not how could have the satisfaction of supporting a definite project for rural groups in China, India, or Africa.

We spend great sums on irrigation projects. Our concrete dams cost hundreds of millions of dollars. The parched fields of rural minds claim the irrigation which literacy and literature will supply.

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Can a home be truly Christian when the environment is a place that breeds disease, where light and sunshine are shut out, where drains are stopped with all kinds of disease-laden filth, where the surrounding area is a breeding place for tuberculosis, diphtheria, typhoid, etc.? Where little children living or playing in these homes get sick and suffer for years, sometimes for life, and where many of them die from preventable disease? Where the mother is so dragged down by existing conditions that life is always a burden?

We are inclined to believe that no matter how much one goes to church, or how much one professes Christianity, a home is not truly Christian where these things exist. . . .

We need a home-visiting group of Spirit-filled, love-impelled, well-informed evangelistic workers with a knowledge of home hygiene and sanitation, who will patiently, systematically, sympathetically, visit and revisit these homes, working with the homemakers, seeking gradually to change the whole environment.

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Chapter Two

EDUCATION FOR HEALTH

LITERACY HAS SUCH ENORMOUS POSSIBILITIES THAT ITS diffusion seems worth any amount of effort. But it is only a means to an end. Its value, as already stated, depends on what it leads to. One of the things which it promotes is physical welfare. This again is not an end in itself. A million robust Nazis turned loose on surrounding countries would not be so much of a blessing to mankind as a million persons in less perfect health devoted to human welfare. That person has not experienced the highest values of health who uses it only for his own advantage or has never been willing to risk it for a worthy cause. Still health so enriches life that as Christians we feel under obligation to cultivate it both in ourselves and in our families. Sickness, pain, and lowered vitality are evils to be removed as far as possible. Jesus' compassion for physical suffering should be shared by his followers.

In spite of the learning of Greek and Arabic physicians and others, medical science for centuries was extremely backward. Such a fundamental matter as the circulation of the blood was not understood till the seventeenth century. During the nineteenth century advance was rapid. Antiseptics were first used, bacteriology revealed the causes of infection, the X ray guided surgery, and today the dis-

covery of sulfa drugs is considered one of the outstanding achievements of medicine. Research is constantly adding to our knowledge and many agencies are diffusing this knowledge. Educational institutions, printed matter, and the radio spread useful information regarding health. Governments and great foundations assist in this work. A great army of doctors and trained nurses give advice as well as service.

Those who see things in the broad are deeply impressed with the importance of *preventive* medicine and with improvement of conditions favorable to health. A tremendous amount of preventable disease is due to indulgence, carelessness, and sheer ignorance. It is estimated that if, in this country alone, people were better instructed, more careful to follow instructions, and more self-controlled billions of dollars would be saved annually. The aim of the conscientious physician is to render himself unnecessary.

Those who profit least by this increase of knowledge are the rural people. In general, they are less up to date since they are less exposed to the currents of information; in particular, they obtain less of the benefits of specialization since country doctors cannot afford the most modern equipment and find it harder to keep abreast of the results of research. Country people are most likely to depend on old-fashioned home remedies.

There is a two-way connection between ignorance and disease. Not only is much illness due to imperfect knowledge of hygiene and sanitation, but physical handicaps often interfere with learning. In the case of poverty and disease the twofold relationship is yet closer. Health is much influenced by public wealth and private standards of living. Wealthy governments and communities can promote public health measures, establish hospitals, and enforce quarantines. Wealth permits specialization, research,

and equipment. Higher standards of living make possible not only better nutrition and housing but the employment of expert medical aid. Here again rural communities are more at a disadvantage. They have not the means to build hospitals nor to run up large doctors' bills.

I. Rural Health Conditions in the Eastern Hemisphere

If health is handicapped by ignorance and poverty in America and most of all among our rural people, what can we expect of the villagers of Asia and Africa whose ignorance and poverty is so much greater?

Physical conditions in the villages of Asia and Africa are due, in the first place, to isolation, both geographical and mental. The village is a small community huddled together mainly for security. It remains only a village, separated from the rest of the world by lack of communications. When the latter developed, cities arose. While many villages in China and India are grouped around market towns, those which are isolated are dependent on their own local resources. They live mainly on a subsistence basis, raising their own food and making their own clothes and tools. Many villages on or near travel routes have contacts with the outside world and these have greatly increased in recent years. But multitudes of others even yet live their lives apart. Roads are poor, flooded during part of the year, or altogether non-existent.

Malnutrition a Cause of Disease

The farmer is at the mercy of the climate—when crops fail people go hungry. There is general testimony as to the prevalence of malnutrition. In Nigeria ulcers seem to result from chronic semi-starvation.[1] In more than half the

families investigated the calorie count was only 50 per cent of normal.[2] Lord Hailey's monumental report on conditions in Africa says that the principal need is greater resistance to infection based on better nutrition.[3] Other observers declare that poor food supply is a cause of African backwardness,[4] and note that 50 per cent of those who go to the mines are rejected for defects due to malnutrition.[5]

As to India, Bishop Pickett, in his survey of mass movements toward Christianity, states that, although the majority of the villagers interviewed reported having three meals a day, most of them were undernourished.[6] The All-India Conference of Medical Research Workers of 1925 stated that the loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventable malnutrition and disease was not less than 20 per cent.[7] Experiments in China indicate that diet fails to provide reserves,[8] so that a slight lowering of quality and quantity of food intake produces disaster.

Lack of communications affects health also by making it impossible to transport cash crops for more than limited distances and by rendering people inaccessible to medical care and health information. Western-trained physicians are not found in villages for three reasons: first, because they would be unable to make a living there; second, because cities and larger towns are not yet overstocked with them; third, because they find conditions so much less attractive than in more populous centers. In several countries governments are beginning to offer subsidies to doctors to serve rural people, but it will be a long time before there is an adequate supply. Japanese country people are unwilling to pay for medical advice.[9]

Physical and mental isolation go together. The peasant may be shrewd on matters within the range of his experi-

ence, but this range is limited. He shares little of the past inheritance of the race and still less of its present progress. Such things are for city dwellers and for those who come in contact with them.

Ignorance of Hygiene and Sanitation

There is general lack of knowledge of the principles of hygiene and sanitation, and of the causes of disease. A missionary physician working on the Congo says that the tradition there is to do nothing about disease.[10] In Indian villages malaria and dysentery are permitted to run their course.[11] In China crooked drains constructed on the principles of necromancy soon choke,[12] and there is general indifference to sanitation.[13] Personal habits such as promiscuous spitting promote infection.[14] In Iran and many other places the death of children is ascribed to evil spirits rather than bad sanitation. An important operation in a case of childbirth may be decided by consulting the Koran opened at random.[15] These few examples could be greatly multiplied.[16]

Hostility and suspicion to medical aid have not entirely disappeared especially in more remote villages. Sickness is accepted as a matter of fate, and any measures taken are likely to be based on superstition. In the Punjab, people say that it is the will of God that cattle should be ill.[17] Charms hung across a lane are preferred to inoculation for cattle disease.[18] A missionary from Mysore said that Christians would not be permitted to disinfect a well in a malaria season.

Professor Cleland of the American University at Cairo quotes a village sheikh who protested against advice not to drink water from the canal. He said that Allah had put the germs in the water and had put him in the village, and that

therefore it must be the will of Allah that he should drink the water.

The doctor asked him whether he would get off a railroad track when he heard a train approaching. He admitted that he would. He was told that germs were like a train, something every wise man should avoid.

Results in Mortality

Under such circumstances it is only to be expected that mortality will be great. Dr. Davis estimated that in his Congo district 50 to 80 per cent of the children up to three years of age died as a result of ignorant treatment.[19] In some West African districts infant mortality is so great that parents do not attempt to name their children until after sixty days.[20]

A survey of the condition of women in India states that in Calcutta three times as many girls as boys die between the ages of ten and fifteen, and five times as many between the ages of fifteen and twenty. The most important cause of this is early marriage, which subjects immature females to undue physical strain.[21] For China, Seifert has made a special study of mortality among Chinese farmers based on surveys by Professor Buck.[22] This indicates that at the period 1929-1931 in the United States the probability was that of those born alive, one-half of males would survive to the age of 66.5 and one-half of females to the age of 70. For rural China the corresponding figures were 28 for males and 26.3 for females. Dr. Paul Harrison estimates that in Bedouin families two-thirds of the children die.[23] Figures of the Department of Health Report of Palestine for 1935-1936 show that 65 Moslem children out of 100 die before they reach the age of five.[24]

Connected with infant mortality is the treatment re-

ceived by women at childbirth. This is always crude and sometimes barbarous. It seems strange that in India, where the touch of low castes is regarded as defiling, the *dais*, or midwives, should be low-caste women, who are permitted to have contacts at a time when cleanliness is supremely important. These women are ignorant and dirty. There is testimony from more than one country of tetanus resulting from infection at childbirth.[25]

II. Importance of Preventive Medicine

Dr. Walter Judd, speaking at the Student Volunteer Movement Convention, at Buffalo, in 1932, said that in his district of China, due to local treatment of the umbilical cord, babies got lockjaw six or eight days after birth. His hospital had four hundred cases. One mother had seven children who "all died of the same thing: for lack of two minutes of information anyone, even semi-trained in modern medicine, could have given—if he were there." [26]

Under such circumstances there is an urgent need for preventive medicine. The Madras Conference report says: "There is a clear call to give greater attention to preventive medicine." [27] The Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry says that in China it is comparatively neglected because it does not so obviously demonstrate goodwill or attract payment.[28] When persons are in pain medical education is appreciated. When they are not conscious of any trouble warnings against infection are resented as intrusions. People will pay to be rid of discomfort. Taking sanitary precautions is considered a nuisance. But the only way in which disease can ever be mastered is to take it at the source by proper physical education. The All-India Conference of Medical Research Workers of 1926 passed resolutions emphasizing the enormous cost of preventable dis-

eases in the loss of efficiency and unnecessary suffering, which it considered the greatest cause of poverty. It urged that "lack of funds, far from being a reason for postponing the inquiry, is a strong reason for immediate investigation of the question." [29]

The preceding statements of conditions could be extended into whole volumes. The quotations given have been selected from a much greater number.

This need for preventive medicine, increasingly recognized in the West, is much greater in the non-Christian world where ignorance of the laws of health is so much more profound. It would be nothing short of tragic for Indian and Chinese children to be drilled in the mastery of reading symbols and taught nothing of care for their bodies. While instruction in school is indispensable, it cannot meet all the needs. In the first place, too many children never go to school or remain for too short a time to master what they need to know. In many cases they can transmit helpful ideas to parents, but they cannot be expected to do everything necessary. Children are not always competent instructors, nor parents receptive pupils. On some subjects, such as care in childbirth, school children would be quite unable to give advice. Therefore *direct approach to homes* will be required.

Under such conditions remedial medicine, although far more needed than in this country, is manifestly not sufficient. Illness must be cut off as much as possible at the source by prohibitive measures. People must not be permitted to become infected when inoculation would render them immune. But even this is not enough. There must be *systematic instruction* in the principles and practice of hygiene and sanitation, leading to intelligent ideals and habits of health; in other words, *health education* must be made

effective for village people. This for three reasons: because conditions are so much worse among these multitudes; because ignorance reinforced by superstition is so much greater; because medical aid is so much less available.

Government Effort Helpful but not Sufficient

Governments, stimulated at least in part by missionary effort, have set up hospitals and attempted to promote public health. The bulk of the hospitals in British India are now maintained by provincial governments and local bodies. Efforts are being made to provide medical care for the rural districts by subsidizing doctors to live in the villages.[30] The success attained may be judged by the estimate that in Madras, where special efforts have been made, only three per cent of rural women receive skilled medical aid at childbirth.[31]

Government funds for public health work in Asia and Africa are limited as compared with those in this country. Populations are much greater and less accessible. What has been done is all to the good. One helpful contribution by missionaries is in persuading villagers to take advantage of whatever expert help is available.

In recent years the Rockefeller Foundation has done a great work in dealing with hookworm and other diseases in various parts of the world. A fascinating account of some of this work is recorded in *An American Doctor's Odyssey*, by Dr. Victor Heiser. He describes vividly and often humorously the schemes which were found necessary to circumvent the suspicion and superstition of ignorant village people.

When we consider all that is done in this country by public and private agencies for physical welfare and yet how much escapes the meshes of the net, we should realize

the utter inability of governments in such areas as China, India, and Africa to penetrate beyond the fringes of their vast rural populations with medical aid. The statements already made of existing conditions should be sufficient to make clear the claim of these hundreds of millions for additional help.

Special Contributions of Missionaries

Missionaries have been pioneers in caring for the physical welfare of the people of the non-Christian world. In many places they have established the first hospitals and performed the first surgical operations using modern methods. Not only their skill, which may bring almost immediate relief, but even more, the spirit with which it has been rendered, has won gratitude and friendship.

As noted above, they have some special qualifications for this work. Since they are not dependent on their patients for their support they can go wherever they are most needed and can serve those unable to pay. Many years ago a government official in Egypt used a phrase that is characteristic of the missionary spirit: "They bring to their work a devotion which money cannot buy." Missionary doctors give long terms of service to a single locality. Of government officials the complaint is often made that they are too frequently shifted. The life-term missionary gains an intimate knowledge of conditions. He masters the vocabulary and can enter into the lives of his constituents, thus disarming suspicion, winning confidence, and making his services acceptable. His Christian message lifts his ministrations above the professional plane. Very special service is rendered by women physicians, who can do for their sex what in many places men would not be permitted to do.

The missionary enterprise is more than a great health

project. Its ultimate aim is to induce men and women to dedicate themselves unreservedly to the service of God, and for this reason to cultivate all their capacities in order that through these they may make the largest contribution to life. Such service goes out in goodwill to all and does not make its aid conditional on the profession of Christianity. It is glad to relieve suffering wherever it finds it but it feels that it has not rendered the greatest benefit when it has given only physical help.

Its largest contribution has hitherto been in curative or remedial medicine. Cases of acute suffering are those which apply to the hospital for relief and demand the first attention. Physicians are frequently unable to minister to all who apply and must therefore turn away or neglect many who cannot hope to recover without medical aid.

Dr. Walter Judd described the position in which missionary doctors may find themselves. He said that he had resources for the adequate treatment of only a limited number and that without this treatment people would probably die. He had to decide which to select to live and which practically to condemn to death. The choice may also have to be between dealing with cases requiring careful diagnosis or with a larger number which can be more rapidly dealt with.

It is not hard to understand why so comparatively little has been done in the way of preventive medicine. Dr. Walter Clothier of the Cameroun says that three diseases are wiping out children—yaws, hookworm, and malaria—all of which are preventable. There is no time to touch them. The only people who get quinine are those who come to the hospital for it. Yaws demands neosalvarsan. There is no money for injections.

However, in many places campaigns of inoculation are

conducted. Those conscious of new ailments are persuaded to submit to vaccination and other prophylactic measures. Work of this kind is done not only in local dispensaries but also by helpers who travel among the villages. Here all that can be said is: the little done, the undone vast.

All this means that the so greatly needed work of health education may be crowded into small space. There are often health talks at dispensaries and itinerant clinics. These may be illustrated by pictures and charts, which may or may not be understood. Slides and films are useful; also small pamphlets. The demand is for greater quantity and better quality of these, and statements that are clear and arresting. Great use could be made of the right sort of material.

This is where literacy and literature gear in. Subsidies for health literature and for visual material would immensely increase effectiveness. Of course, nothing goes to the spot like continued personal contacts and actual demonstrations. A number of medical missionaries, asked what they would do with a few hundred dollars, have replied that they would train visiting nurses. There are cases in which the only thing lacking is funds.

Some Special Methods Employed

The present description deals with only a part of the work of medical missions, that which has to do with health education. One of the notable leaders in this work was Dr. W. W. Peter, who went to China as a medical missionary in 1911 and two years later became a Y.M.C.A. secretary as promoter of health campaigns. While his work was mainly confined to the large centers, his methods were effective for reaching the ignorant and illiterate. He made much use of posters, pictures, slides, films, and charts, to-

gether with apparatus for striking visual demonstrations. For instance, there was an endless belt on which little puppets moved, coming out of Chinese houses and falling into coffins. This illustrated the frequency of the death rate in China as compared with America. Many thousands of people attended these exhibitions and were deeply impressed with what they saw and heard.

A remarkable public health education project was arranged for the city of Foochow, in June, 1920. In the preceding year there had been a severe cholera epidemic with an estimate of 19,000 cases. Idol processions and worship at temples did nothing to check this. Since the disease was expected to break out again the following summer, a systematic campaign was organized: 247 meetings were held, attended by 110,000 people; 300,000 pieces of literature on cholera were distributed by nearly 2,500 volunteers. A novel way of reaching the street crowds was by a cholera parade with a series of floats illustrating good and bad sanitation, ways in which food became infected, and safe and unsafe ways of eating melons. Explanations were made by students with megaphones to crowds of over 200,000. One float contained firewood and coffinwood. The student shouted: "Boil your water, cook your food; if you do not use firewood, you may have to use coffinwood. Firewood is cheap; coffinwood is dear. Take your choice."

By these methods the epidemic was checked. A few sporadic cases of cholera were shown to have been brought in from outside. While such elaborate methods would be out of the question in villages, they are suggestive as to ways of impressing illiterates.

A second line of approach is through schools. Children may be instructed as to health and encouraged to carry ideas back to their homes and apply them there. An inter-

esting sample of this method is found in *The Education of Primitive People,* by Dr. A. D. Helser, who put to good use ideas gained at Teachers College, Columbia University. Chapter X of his book treats health projects.[32] Little children were asked how many had a baby brother or sister. There was enthusiastic response. "How many have had to bury a baby brother or sister?" All hands went up but two. The children wondered why so many babies died. This led to discussion of the causes of fever, the source of mosquitoes, and the diseases they cause, how they can be destroyed, guarding against germs, and many other health problems. There was no indication of any lack of ability to think logically in response to skillful questioning. The final outcome was that the parents began to be interested and decided to build a village dispensary, in which the children assisted.

The Home Economics Department of Cheeloo University at Tsinan has had extension work, mainly in nutrition.* An interesting demonstration method was to carry around three cages of white rats fed on three typical diets and showing that the diet recommended gave visibly better results than that obtained by the ordinary fare or by that which the more prosperous eat.

The rats made an impression which could not have been created by any spoken word or printed instructions. One small child had always refused vegetables; when she noticed that the rats which ate vegetables had the best growth, she reformed her diet.

A still more impressive, although unintended, demonstration was afforded when, on an extension trip, the rats

* Described in "Extension Service in Home Economics: The Rural Institute of Cheeloo University," by Mary K. Russell. Mimeograph Series No. 160. New York, Agricultural Missions, Inc.

littered. The one fed on the recommended diet littered first and had nine pups, eight of them born alive. The rat which had a less nutritious, though more expensive, diet had only four pups, three of them born dead. Seeing is believing. The most persuasive discourse could never have conveyed such deep conviction to a rural audience.

Another method of reaching villages was that of Dr. "Jimmy" Yen. His best-known project was a social welfare experiment at Tinghsien, Hopei Province, North China, established in 1930 as a ten-year experiment and brought to an end by the Japanese invasion of 1937. The *hsien,* or county, of 480 square miles had nearly 400,000 inhabitants. The government gave cordial cooperation and permitted the project group to nominate the county magistrate. A section was set off for special research, consisting of 61 villages with a total population of 44,000. The project had support from various institutions, which enabled it to gather a staff of nearly 200 persons, including many Chinese professors. Such resources were of course exceptional. The purpose was to bring to bear expert investigation in order to discover methods which might be practicable in places lacking any such resources.

The whole project included literacy and cultural education, economic uplift, and health improvement, working through schools, homes, and communities. We here confine ourselves to health work in villages.

The entire hsien had 472 villages, 250 of which had medical aid of the old Chinese type. Of 2,000 cases investigated, 70 per cent had old-style treatment, 4 per cent modern treatment, and the rest none at all. The problem was to plan something economically practicable. The annual per capita expenditure for medicine in the district at that time was 30 cents Chinese, equivalent to 10 cents in

United States currency. A village with a population of 700 therefore had not more than $70 per annum, a sum which would not support a modern trained physician, even supposing there were a sufficient number of such persons for the half million villages of China and that they could be induced to settle in the remote country. It was perceived that the first step must be to train local workers. The village elder was asked to recommend a member of the People's School Alumni Association as village health worker. This person was sent to a special district station for about two weeks to receive training. The training included use of a simple kit containing ten important but safe products. There were ointments for trachoma, which afflicted more than half the school children and was spread by careless methods, for conjunctivitis, and for running ears. There were four products for skin infection, also aspirin and soda mint. The kit cost about $1 United States money, and was paid for by the village from its funds. Treatment was free. The workers were strictly charged not to attempt treatment outside their repertoire. A check-up indicated that in over 95 per cent of the cases the drugs had been correctly used. This made it economically possible to relieve an immense amount of suffering with local personnel. The workers were also instructed in vaccination, registration of births and deaths, and improvement of drinking wells.

At various points in the district special district health stations were established. These were manned by B grade physicians, B meaning "not A." These persons were much more competent than village health workers and furnished supervision for the latter. They held daily clinics. As a matter of policy it was planned that they should be supported by taxation. In the center of the district was a hos-

pital fully equipped, to which were sent cases which the special district stations could not handle. Each year, the whole hsien was spending $120,000 Chinese for medical service, mostly old style. Modern methods, which increased economic efficiency, would justify larger expenditure.

Other methods employed were a China New Year's exhibit at the district center at which 18,000 pieces of printed material on sanitation and infection were given out. A wheelbarrow with demonstration material was taken to village fairs. There were various kinds of posters, some to be taken home by patients, some to be used by lecturers and some by village health workers.

This method represents an intelligent approach to the problem of making medical aid available to village people. The main emphasis, however, seems to be on remedial rather than preventive medicine. Presumably, village health workers would spread ideas of hygiene and sanitation, but their principal function was to deal with actual disorders and turn over the more serious cases to the dispensaries and hospitals.

Health Education Needed in Homes

Health education in the homes is illustrated by the work of Dr. Agnes Fraser, wife of Dr. Donald Fraser of Nyasaland. It is described in the little book *The Teaching of Healthcraft to African Women* and more briefly in her chapter in *Friends of Africa* [33] (edited by Miss Jean Mackenzie), one of the best chapters on medical missions ever written.

Mrs. Fraser lays great stress on the importance of health instruction in the homes to supplement hospital and dispensary service, which cannot possibly reach all the people.[34] Mental and spiritual contacts are of great importance.

"It is not enough to understand the African. We must also give him an opportunity to understand us and to enter into our lives." [35] Lecturing is not effective in dealing with people who have never been trained in systematic mental effort. "There must be question and answer and exchange of ideas to keep their brains working." [36] From different parts of Africa comes testimony that even pictures are hard to understand. People simply do not recognize what they are supposed to represent. In teaching women, Dr. Fraser used a celluloid doll, called Tobias, which suffered all sorts of imaginary ailments and was treated for them. The women watched and then performed the treatment themselves.[37]

An example of educational method was as follows: Some fine-looking chicken eggs belonging to the missionary were admired. The missionary asked a woman if she would like some to set and offered to boil some and send them to her. The women objected that eggs did not hatch if boiled. They were also sure that maize would not sprout if boiled. They were ripe to accept the suggestion that boiling kills life. This led to the idea that insects in clothes might be killed by boiling water and that rags used to bind wounds should be boiled.[38] The book is full of suggestive methods for helping people to discover things for themselves.

Dr. Fraser mentions an indirect good effect of these demonstrations, which was to help remove the inferiority complex of women. They saw the woman missionary doctor doing things in the hospital at which her husband sometimes acted as assistant. They discovered that they had learned things which their own husbands did not know and that they could deal with situations in which their husbands were nonplused. This gave them a healthy sense of self-respect.[39]

Another important contribution to the subject of health education for African women has been made by Dr. Janet Welch, medical officer of the Church of Scotland Hospital at Blantyre. A grant from the Carnegie Corporation made possible a special study on *Nursing Education Related to the Cultural Background in East and Southeast African Colonies,* published in 1941. Dr. Welch begins by calling attention to the fact that "women, by their position in African society, control the acceptance of new ideas." This assertion is confirmed by many observers and seems to be, to a great extent, true among rural people in all parts of the world. By the very fact that they are uneducated and restricted in contacts with the outside world, rural women tend to be conservative and to resist change in the family mores.

Some striking statements of the report are as follows:

> The medical services of the future . . . will have as their goal prevention through education of the individual in sickness and in health.[40] . . . Major health problems of the present day, such as control of infant mortality and tuberculosis can be solved only through personal hygiene, an alteration in the daily habits of the individual. . . . Such a change . . . can be accomplished by but one means—education.[41] . . . The sick who are still able to take part in the day's activities do not consider themselves ill enough for such desperate measures as going to hospital. They do not receive treatment, therefore, at a time when they could be most helped.[42]

Since the enlistment of nurses is so essential

> . . . cheap and interesting readers in English and the vernacular should be written on nursing in a popular style—what it is, its aims, and its opportunities for women and girls. Stories from the history of nursing and the lives of nursing heroines can be made

fascinating subjects. They must be written, however, by those who know the Africans and their limited knowledge of the social backgrounds of other countries.[43]

In this connection it is interesting to consult the surveys made in preparation for the great international missionary conferences. The survey which preceded the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 reported, under the statistics of medical missionaries, 628 nurses in training under missionary auspices. The survey preceding the Jerusalem Conference of 1928 reported 1,085 such nurses. The survey in connection with the Madras Conference of 1938 reported 4,184 qualified nurses and 8,906 more in training. While it seems probable that the bulk of these are engaged in institutional work, the rapid increase in a decade indicates that the profession of nursing is attracting attention. We may hope ultimately for a supply of visiting nurses for the rural districts.

III. The Responsibility of the West

We have become conscious of the intimate relationship of the mental and the physical. Psychiatry and psychoanalysis are recognized branches of therapeutics. All sorts of ills are attributed to emotional disturbances and repressions. Mental abnormality as well as physical is considered worthy of serious attention.

Our complex modern life taxes the nerves in many ways, leading to numerous physical breakdowns. The life of the pagan villager is subject to repressions and superstitious fears, is warped and vacuous. For want of any intelligent nurture people grow up with distorted personalities. Here is a great field for effort in mental hygiene, no less important than ordinary health education.

When Louis Pasteur made his discoveries in bacteriology, the possession of his knowledge made him a debtor to the whole world. If he had attempted to restrict the benefits of his research to his own nation his name would not be one of the glories of France. On the contrary, he at once published his results so that all might share them. This is the spirit of science. The missionary spirit goes one step further and seeks not only to publish but to convey. It would do the rural missions of the Eastern continent no good merely to have medical knowledge made public property. In order to be effective, help must be taken to them and made acceptable by demonstration and persuasion. Medical missionaries undertake to do this.

It is not possible to accept the benefits of the love and protection of God the Father, maker of heaven and earth, without also accepting this obligation to share our blessings with other races equally as his children.

Finally, we must keep in mind that health is more than freedom from actual disease. It stands for fullness of physical vitality, enabling persons to put all their abilities to the best use. The way in which it is handicapped by ignorance is sufficiently obvious. It is also grievously hampered by poverty, which is discussed in the following chapter, by social conservatism, which resists medical aid, and by superstition, which guards against imaginary evils while neglecting the real causes of illness.

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The relation of the farmer to the land is the basic economic problem of the rural Christians of Asia. Fully one-half of the rural population is landless, either working as day laborers in the employ of others, or renting land belonging to others. The farmers of Asia have fallen on evil days. The rise in standards of living, together with the universal slump in the value of agrarian produce that has taken place throughout Asia in the last decade, has exerted a steady pressure upon the farming class and has seriously reduced their economic power. . . .

There is a tendency to deplore the entrance of powerful economic forces into the field of the Church, and the consequent break-up of social customs, sanctions, and groupings. We wish to point out that these forces belong to God, are subject to His Will, and are His gift to men. We believe that God intends the Church to deal intelligently and purposefully with these economic principles and to build them into His Kingdom.

—From the Madras Series, *The Economic Basis of the Church,* V, pp. 7, 23-24.

Chapter Three

IMPROVING STANDARDS OF LIVING

ONE OF THE NOTABLE CHANGES IN CHRISTENDOM IN THE past century has been the growth of the economic conscience. From this the peasants have been the ones who got least good. Under the feudal system of medieval Europe they were serfs, tied to the land. In return for their service their lords owed them protection, but the benefits were in general one-sided and the conditions of life deplorable. In spite of the fact that the masses were inured to extreme poverty, they repeatedly rose in revolts which were cruelly suppressed. The growth of manufacturing and commerce created a middle class of the city dwellers whose wealth gave them increasing power. These, in their struggle with the great landlords, finally obtained the vote, long before it was extended to the peasants. The Industrial Revolution brought no relief to the latter since those who left the land were usually employed in factories and mines, and conditions there were even worse.

The condition of these city and town workers appealed to the democratic and Christian spirit of those in control. Workers brought together in large numbers became more class-conscious and rulers more sensitive. The result was social legislation, which in England and America has been

largely a matter of the twentieth century. We have gone far, but we still have far to go.

The condition of the farmers attracted less attention. They are scattered and less vocal. They are not organized into unions to make their influence felt. Their interests sometimes clash with those of industry. With considerable plausibility they claim that they are getting the worst of the deal.

The welfare of the farming people has been a concern of the government. More than eighty years ago grants of land were made to states to endow colleges of agriculture and mechanical extension. The nation has an efficient Department of Agriculture which conducts research through experimental stations, publishes bulletins, and looks after the general welfare of the farmer. In recent years such federal agencies as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and others have multiplied for supplying credit and conserving the soil. Vast sums have been spent on irrigation projects.

In 1903 Dr. Seaman Knapp began a work of demonstration on farms, which has had large development since. Traveling agents consult with farmers on their problems and illustrate methods which might be used. Many thousands of demonstrators are engaged in this work. Another method, which later made its way across the ocean to Africa, was that of the so-called Jeanes teachers, whose work was made possible through an endowment established by an American Quaker, Miss Anna T. Jeanes. In our own South these teachers "spend all of their time in working with the teachers of little schools [for Negroes] distributed over wide areas of rural districts, often under very discouraging conditions." [1] Since their work is based

on a careful study of local conditions, it soon reflects itself in homes and farms and in the community.[2]

In spite of all this effort backed by the great resources, scientific and financial, of the American government, the condition of the American farmer is far from ideal and in some sections is desperate. Measures for their relief are sometimes opposed by industrial interests. The work so far done is most encouraging. Problems still unsolved cause great anxiety.

I. Economic Problems of Rural Asia and Africa

Governments of the so-called non-Christian world are not indifferent to the claims of the peasant. An Inspector General of Agriculture for India was appointed in 1901 [3] and an agricultural institute and experimental farm was made possible in 1905 through the large gift of a wealthy American.[4] Since then other stations have been set up, bulletins published, and a certain amount of agricultural education provided. Great irrigation dams have been constructed.

In China government effort has been held back by civil war and Japanese aggression, but a National Council of Rural Construction is reported to have been organized with headquarters at Kweiyang.

In Africa it is admitted that the amounts spent on improvement of native agriculture are small compared with those placed at the disposal of European farmer interests.[5] The need for better methods of agriculture are everywhere recognized.

Think of the contrast. If the United States with its rich inheritances and enormous resources has as yet been unable to relieve the distress of great sections of its farming population, what can we expect of China, India, and Africa,

with their comparatively meager funds and enormous numbers of much more backward peoples?

When we consider conditions more in detail we find that the peasants of the non-Christian world have lived under special economic disadvantages. L. M. Darling, one of the most acute observers of rural conditions in the Punjab, remarks that agriculture demands climatic, economic, and political security.[6]

Climatic Handicaps

In many parts of Asia and Africa climatic conditions are treacherous, sometimes with protracted droughts so that crops fail entirely. In great parts of India everything depends on the monsoon rains. The testimony of various writers is as follows: The life of the people is in large areas a gamble on rain.[7] As for India in general, the average five years comprises "one good year, when the farmer need not borrow, three indifferent years, when he borrows for cultivation expenses, and one bad year, when he incurs debt for everything." [8] An Indian economist holds that the caprice of the seasons destroys thrift and generates fatalism.[9] Professor R. H. Tawney uses a vivid expression in speaking of China when he says: "There are districts in which the position of the rural population is that of a man standing permanently up to the neck in water, so that even a ripple is sufficient to drown him." [10]

The very unequal distribution of rainfall during the year sometimes makes the very same regions which suffer from drought subject at other times to great floods. This is especially true of China. The Yangtze flood of 1931 cost several million lives, and those of the Yellow River have been extremely disastrous. In South China farming is a gamble, due to frequent floods.[11] In India government engi-

neering projects have helped to reduce floods and also promote irrigation. Various pests, in particular immense swarms of locusts, destroy vegetation. In China locusts are rated as one of the three natural causes of famine.[12]

Economic Handicaps

Climatic insecurity creates for farmers economic insecurity unless there are large resources to fall back upon in lean years. These reserves are just what the majority of peasants lack. All evidence and estimates indicate that the population of Asia has greatly increased in the past one hundred and fifty years, so that the average size of farms has steadily dwindled. Records show that in Indian districts the average holdings in 1771 were 40 acres; in 1840, 14; and in 1914, less than 5. In the United States in 1930 only one-seventh of the farms had less than 20 acres, and over two-thirds had more than 50 acres.[13] A survey in the Punjab in 1926 indicated that 22.5 per cent of the families had one acre or less, and 55.8 per cent less than five acres. Less than one-fourth cultivated more than 10 acres.[14] Darling, speaking of a district of this same province, says that single families can barely live on 25 acres.[15]

Dr. J. Lossing Buck's very thorough investigation states that the average size of farms in China was found to be 3.76 acres as compared with 156.85 in the United States.[16]

In Africa, where whites are able to live in large numbers, they have appropriated the best land and crowded the Africans into reservations limited in extent and inferior in quality. In the South African Union the white population, less than one-third of the total, controls 88 per cent of the land. A recommendation for Natal, regarded as too generous to the natives, would have given each of them 6.8 acres on the average and 156 to the white man, the latter

land being much healthier, more fertile, and more desirable in location.[17] In Kenya the disproportion was even greater. Raymond L. Buell [18] says that, while the white settlers averaged 500 acres, the Kikuyu average only 8 of less desirable land.

Farms continue to shrink, not only through population increase but by division among heirs. This latter fact leads to another serious economic problem. Each heir receives a bit of each kind of soil so that his claim consists of a number of separated plots sometimes a mile or more apart and often so small that each is fit only for intensive cultivation. This excessive fragmentation dissipates capital which might be used for improved methods. In a Tinghsien village of more than 200 families only 26 families had as few as six plots each, while some had as many as 20.[19]

The undeveloped state of communications hinders sale of crops when there is a surplus and the bringing of relief when there is a deficit. In America we have about 235,000 miles of railroad, numerous navigable rivers and canals, and a wide radiation of roads suitable for trucks. This has made farming to a large extent a commercial pursuit, since the demands of large and accessible cities supply markets. In India only a small proportion of villages are near good roads. "Access to the great majority is obtained by pathways between the fields and rough cart tracks, which are impracticable for wheeled traffic during the rainy season." [20] In Travancore many villages have no roads at all.[21]

A correspondent from North China, where carts are used, says that sometimes they are laid up for months at a time because of the condition of the roads.[22] Coolie transportation is reported to be fifteen times dearer than by railroad in the United States.[23]

In Africa distances are great and transportation com-

paratively undeveloped. Roads are constructed for the benefit of white settlers rather than Africans. J. Merle Davis comments on the lack of facilities in North Rhodesia. Roads are poor, but it does not seem profitable to improve them without prospective traffic, and this in turn is held back by high rates of transportation.[24]

When the great majority of holdings are so tiny and access to markets is difficult, rural life tends to be mainly on a subsistence basis. There is little incentive to raise crops other than those needed for consumption. Under such circumstances incomes are extremely small. And it is difficult to estimate their value, since the purchasing power of money differs widely in different regions. Tables giving various estimates concerning India are found in the *Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry*[25] ranging from Rs. 17.4 to 116 per capita. In Pickett's *Christian Mass Movements in India*[26] they range from Rs. 20 to 100. R. Mukerjee[27] gives another list. He makes the significant statement: "More than ninety per cent of the total expenditure of the agriculturists in India is spent on staple food, rent and clothing. Very little is available for making permanent improvements for the land, for drainage, or irrigation. . . . Amongst all classes in India expenditure for religious ceremonies and caste dinners is excessive and causes a large proportion of family indebtedness."

These figures, even if accurate, would not indicate the purchasing power of cash incomes as compared with those in America. But it is evident that standards of living are extremely low. On this subject Pickett remarks: "Relatively few Indian villages possess even one home with as many conveniences as the poorly paid rural school-teachers of Great Britain consider necessary for their comfort, or a single resident whose normal income exceeds one-half of

that of the union carpenter or bricklayer of New York in this period of depression." [28] Almost 40 per cent of the families studied lived in one-room houses. In more than 200 of these at least one cow, buffalo, ox, goat, or pony shared the room.[29]

Professor Buck [30] finds that the goods consumed by the average American farmer are 16 times those of the average farmer of 2,370 examined in six provinces of China. *The Chinese Recorder* of August, 1932,[31] gives case studies of China's poverty, indicating inability of families to live on the land because of the small size of the farms.

With such limited resources and uncertainty as to crops, it is only to be expected that farmers should be burdened with debts. This is the modern substitute for starvation. In former times people without food simply died on the land. With the gradual increase of a money economy it is possible to obtain cash by borrowing from moneylenders or by sale of land. The legislation which controls this procedure in general favors the creditor rather than the debtor. This is true all over the world. Contact with the outside world creates new desires for articles brought in for sale. It makes markets accessible at which products can be sold. The latter often pass through the hands of middlemen who take most of the profits. All this spells debt. A final cause which is especially operative in China and India is a great expenditure on weddings and funerals demanded by custom. It is estimated that in England 1 per cent of the annual income is spent on a wedding; in America, 2 per cent; in China, 25 to 30 per cent.[32] Sometimes the entire annual income is spent on a wedding.[33] Indian economists support the view that one of the most important causes of debt is the spending on marriage and social and religious ceremonies.[34] They hold that debt is the main obstacle to In-

dian agriculture.[35] A survey in the Punjab summarizes the causes of debt and adds to those already mentioned "the constantly recurring loss of cattle, either through disease or negligence . . . ingrained improvidence . . . a quirk in the psychology of the peasant, causing him to regard his ability to incur a large debt as a compliment to his social status." [36]

Political Handicaps

The Royal Commission on Agriculture notes that the growth of commerce and establishment of law and civil courts and such measures as the Contract Act have strengthened the position of the moneylender. These changes place a premium on thrift and intelligence, which the latter possesses but the peasant lacks. He has only semi-annual or annual returns from his crops and is therefore frequently in strenuous need of borrowing. Modern regulations make it possible for him to mortgage his income or even capital to obtain a loan, and he finds it hard to resist the temptation.[37]

Darling, reporting a discussion at Amritsar, states that everyone there, Hindu, Moslem, and Sikh, agreed that he must be responsible for his father's debts to save him from hell.[38] "Numerous families deprive themselves of many of the primary needs of healthy living in order to make interest payments in whole or in part when, under existing conditions, they have not the slightest chance of paying the principal." [39] There is agreement that British law increases the power of the moneylender.[40] In Japan the entrance of a money economy into the villages throws land into the hands of moneylenders.[41] Agricultural rent is estimated to be seven times that of England.[42]

Rates of interest are high, partly because the village

peasant can hardly be considered a good risk, and also because he simply must have the money. Darling reports Punjab rates of from 12 to 37.5 per cent,[43] not unaccompanied by many sharp practices.[44] Pickett found rates to range from 5 to 75 per cent.[45] A paper in *Agrarian China* says nearly three-fourths of 1,255 rural pawnshops in Chekiang Province charge 3 to 4 per cent per month, 36 to 48 a year.[46] Rates sometimes run much higher.

Poverty Creates Other Handicaps

Poverty, especially in the villages of Asia and Africa, is closely connected with other handicaps. There is a connection with illiteracy: schools are likely to be poor in quality or altogether lacking; homes provide so little stimulus, since the majority of parents are illiterate; children are needed to help in family tasks. Illiteracy in turn makes the escape from poverty more difficult.

Poverty is a physical handicap. Social surveys in this country and in England indicate that mortality is highest where incomes are lowest. Housing, clothing, nourishment, sanitation, and medical care tend to be inadequate. These conditions react to restrict wage-earning capacity. Poor rural folk have fewer social and cultural advantages, and in general they are more subject to superstition.

The survey *Village Education in India,* which was published in 1920, states that there will be no real and permanent solution of the problems of the Indian Christian community while the general economic problems of India are unsolved.[47] Professor Hocking calls attention to the fact that poverty is not new in India, but resentment against it is.[48] All over the world, the outstanding issue of the present century is perhaps the unequal distribution of privileges between and within nations.

II. Fundamental Causes of Poverty

Some writers hold that the fundamental difficulty in all these closely connected factors making for poverty is the pressure of population on the land, which operates in some of the African reserves as well as in China and India. They argue that with the suppression of civil war and the more effective control of famine and disease the death rate has fallen, leading to rapid increase of population. The present population of Europe is almost threefold what it was in 1800,[49] and the censuses of India show rapid increase. Well-meant attempts to increase length of life will only multiply mouths to fill with limited resources so that death will be by starvation rather than by disease.

The first possible alternative is birth control. This is likely to be exercised most by those classes which do not need it, least by the very poor. Industrialization is another remedy for a dense population as in the cases of England and Belgium. If China and India were thoroughly industrialized, without doubt they could support much larger numbers, but such a development could not take place overnight. The third alternative is to do nothing to promote sanitation and nutrition and to let people die off. We cannot accept this as a Christian solution of the difficulty. The only thing left is to help people make the most of existing economic resources. What land there is is not, at present, utilized to the full. Education for economic uplift is an urgent need.

Psychological Causes Most Important

There is strong testimony that in the last analysis psychological conditions are most important of all. *The United States Year Book of Agriculture* for 1900 says: "We only

admit the truth when we recognize that our economic problems are moral problems . . . the social sciences . . . have tried to deal largely or exclusively with the material phases of social problems as opposed to the psychological and cultural phases." [50] The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India states: "Throughout our investigation, we have constantly been impressed with the thought that mere material improvement alone will not bring lasting benefit to the agricultural population . . . 'the central problem is now psychological, not technical.' " [51]

> The Indian peasant, . . . generally speaking, . . . is lacking in originality and initiative and is too much wedded to traditional methods and practices, many of which are wasteful and unscientific. Also, he is steeped up to the lips in superstitions and prejudices, which in their totality are a serious drag on his economic progress. . . . The only way of changing the psychology and the social and personal habits of the peasant is to educate him.[52]

Andrus, writing for Burma, says that obstacles are largely intellectual and moral.[53] Brayne, whose writings have attracted much attention, says: "The increasing of the wealth, however, without the radical changing of the ideals and habits of the people, is utterly useless." [54] He considers that four principal conceptions are needed: of the dignity of labor, of the dignity of woman, of the dignity of cleanliness, of the dignity of service.[55] Strickland, expert on cooperation, suggests that villages show selfishness and factions for lack of opportunities to develop altruism.[56] Hatch notes the general lack of ambition.[57]

Effects of Entering Money Economy

Of the changes taking place in rural life of the non-Christian world, one of the most important is the entrance of a money economy. This has two important effects. It

stimulates the production of cash crops, which are often exploited by middlemen. It also makes possible the sale or mortgaging of land to raise funds. This favors the person who has money to lend. Freaks of nature may ruin crops, but do not impair the value of hard cash. In good years borrowers and lenders deal on even terms. In bad years the former have their backs to the wall and must submit to whatever conditions the lender imposes. Peasants have not been accustomed to handle money and fail to make the best use of it. Darling says that the supreme economic need is to teach the peasants how to handle money.[58] Land steadily passes into the hands of the creditors. Oppressed villagers have been driven to city factories and plantations.[59] Conditions in chawls (workers' quarters) in Bombay are described as unbelievably crowded and unsanitary. In Indian villages the increasing use of money has tended to break down the old system of mutual service.[60] In China much land of the poorer peasants is mortgaged or sold.[61] In Middle Shansi an investigation showed that farmers are borrowing money, mortgaging or selling land, selling jewelry and even wives and children.[62] The so-called communist movement is essentially an agrarian uprising against conditions which had become intolerable. In 1935 a government investigation, by no means complete, indicated that nearly two million families had left their villages in twenty-two provinces.[63] The Japanese invasion has driven a population estimated as high as thirty millions from their homes, creating serious economic problems and preparing the way for great social change.

European Invasion of Rural Africa and Asia

In Africa, European exploitation has upturned what economic order there was. Africa contains great natural

resources which require for their development capital, modern technique, business experience, and cheap labor. The first three are considered to be in the province of the European, while the last is assigned to the African. In Uganda the native people raise cotton and on the West Coast cacao as cash crops,[64] but in most other parts of Africa management of such enterprises is in the hands of Europeans. This is essentially true of the gold and copper mines and the Congo plantations. In order to obtain a labor supply pressure has been found necessary. It has been widely asserted that taxation has been imposed to compel Africans to earn money wages at European enterprises. Since taxes must be paid in cash, which the African does not possess, he must seek employment in order to secure the amount needed. Lord Hailey admits that taxation is an important cause of labor emigration, but claims that in the British colonies it has not been imposed with this deliberate intention.[65] Be that as it may, the results have been devastating. From many quarters comes the complaint that an altogether excessive proportion of men have been taken away from their homes, while the supply of manual labor is still inadequate to meet the demand.[66] This has affected tribal economic life by withdrawing workers, family life by taking away husbands, and political life by making those who return restless under the old community restrictions. Conditions of those crowded together at mines has in the past been deplorable.[67] The evils have been recognized and rules made restricting the number of men who can be enlisted from any locality at one time; also arrangements for promoting the welfare of workers. As in industry generally, the best conditions are commendable, but the worst are regrettable. In the construction of the Congo-Ocean Railway, in the French

Congo, workers had been recruited from distant sections of the country where the climate was altogether different. No provision was made for their transportation, so that they had to travel on foot. In one contingent the mortality was as great as 94 per cent.[68]

The villages of Africa and Asia hitherto comparatively isolated are experiencing economic invasion. This may be utterly ruthless, like the exploitation of China by the Japanese, or more civilized, like that of foreign commercial organizations. In either event the interests of the peasant may be sacrificed. The forces which can be brought to bear are so much more powerful than anything the villager can offer in resistance that he cannot hope to hold his own. As a citizen he looks to his government for protection, but he finds that competing interests make stronger demands. Governments deserve considerable credit for what they are doing with limited resources, and sometimes active hindrance, to help their vast rural populations, but they have only begun to deal with the situation. Workers are needed who will give themselves to village welfare with wholehearted devotion. Lord Hailey, in the foreword to Brayne's *Remaking of Village India,* says:

> . . . not many of us . . . have had the missionary spirit necessary for the enterprise. For the villager . . . will not be persuaded by those whom he has not learnt to trust . . . he will not trust those who do not seem prepared to put aside all other claims and considerations, in order to live with him, to learn his troubles, and to support him through them.[69]

There is a call for teachers imbued with the spirit for service.[70] Brayne complains that public servants are without this spirit.

III. The Missionary Contribution

This spirit of service is an outstanding contribution of missionaries. Not all are qualified to deal with the problems of rural economic welfare, and it must be admitted that not all give these problems the place they deserve, but the appreciation of their importance is steadily growing. Miss Nettie M. Senger of the Church of the Brethren in evangelistic work in Shansi for twenty-three years, wrote in *The Chinese Recorder*, September, 1931:

> Evangelism as a department for soul culture, all independent of material social needs, is no longer needed nor wanted. Village evangelism must cope with social and economic problems, and bring separate individuals with separate interests to think collectively in terms of the highest social and spiritual good of the group. . . . We must deal with individuals not as separate from or outside of society, but as intrinsic parts of society.[71]

The findings of the Madras Conference said: It is recommended "that the church definitely think and plan in terms of . . . the economic and social environment, and . . . learn to deal with this as energetically and effectively as it does with evangelism, education, and medical work." [72]

Here is a challenge for a rural adult education that is contagiously Christian and an evangelism that works out the implications of Christianity for the daily life and tasks of the farmer. Instruction in agricultural technique which does not regenerate the inner nature and a presentation of the Christian message which does not make better farmers are both inadequate.

Special Qualifications Needed

Just any missionary is not qualified to improve standards of living among rural adults. The fact that individuals

with rural background but no special training in agriculture have rendered useful service in certain ways is no justification for depending on amateur effort in the future. The theological training which most ministers receive makes no provision for rural reconstruction. The economic problems which the missionary faces are so difficult that thorough and specialized training should be provided to deal with them. An investigation conducted by the writer some years ago secured general testimony that greater specialization was desirable in missionary preparation. Dr. Sam Higginbottom's great usefulness to the Allahabad Agricultural Institute is due to the fact that he spent several years in America preparing for this work and has gathered a staff of experts. Missionary boards should consult qualified agricultural advisers in the selection of missionaries for rural work.

On reaching the field, workers should be cautious in attempting to apply what they have learned at home. Different conditions must be carefully studied and many experiments made before recommending American products or methods. Seed which thrives in American soil and climate may not do so in China or Africa. Tools which the American farmer finds most efficient may not be usable in India. Even if they did yield greater results, the peasants might not be able to afford them. In some cases thousands of experiments are necessary in order to discover just what plants will thrive in a different environment. Well-meant suggestions which lead to failure may do great harm. Missionaries need to understand their own limitations and to take advantage of experimental work done by other missionaries and by government institutions.

Methods Especially Recommended

In selection of methods there is general agreement that demonstration work is most effective. The minds of villagers are limited in range and concrete in quality. They follow the traditional methods, which cost little mental effort. George B. Cressey quotes a significant Chinese saying: "To learn to be a farmer one need not study; one needs only to do as his neighbor does." [73] Such hard heads are immune.

In June, 1942, there was held at Otterbein College, Ohio, a missionary conference on African affairs with nearly two hundred delegates, an unusual proportion of whom were missionaries from Africa and natives of Africa. In its recommendations on Christian education, the Conference considered it necessary to call attention to "the great change of meaning which the concept of education has undergone in recent years. The aim of education is no longer basically the impartation of book knowledge." [74] It recommended "That directed experimentation in community education be undertaken; . . . That adult education be given larger attention." [75] Items in the rural approach were: "improvement of the home, conservation and right use of the riches of the soil, the study of diet and the introduction of new foods, cooperation with government extension agents, enlargement of gardens and fields, development of cooperatives and of markets, equitable distribution of land, energy and initiative in developing products, supervision by Jeanes teachers and agricultural agents." [76]

Mr. J. H. Reisner said that since Africa is basically an agricultural country, a richer life for the African farmer depends more on the use he makes of the land than on any other factor. Farming has been hampered by superstí-

tion, fears, and the use of charms. It needs to be animated by a Christian, rather than a pagan, spirit. The farmer cooperates with God in the use of His gifts.[77] Our education should create an appreciation of these gifts and the responsibility for cooperation. There should be special acts of worship to dedicate the fruits of the soil.[78]

As one missionary from China put it, we need a high theology of matter, a profound sense that in all our use of things we are stewards of the grace of God, agents in helping nature realize its most ideal purposes.

IV. Some Typical Experiments

Among outstanding experiments is that of Dr. D. Spencer Hatch at Martandam in Travancore, South India, working under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. His two books, *Up from Poverty* and *Further Upward in Rural India,* describe his methods in detail. His work is known all over India and has received favorable notice from government officials. Dr. Hatch supplements the threefold formula of body, mind, and spirit with special efforts for social and economic welfare. He quotes 113 village Y.M.C.A.'s in the district run entirely by unpaid leaders, with committees on religious, educational, physical, social, and economic work. He says when the question is asked " 'What is the greatest one need in our village?' the answer generally is: 'That our religious life be quickened, made vital to control and guide all we do, seven days in the week.' " [79]

A sample of his method relates to the sale of eggs in a cooperative organization. Peasants twice each week bring in their eggs from the surrounding villages. These are tested and stamped "A" or "B" for size and freshness. Those no larger than the ordinary country eggs are re-

jected and must be sold in the local market. Every depositor is credited and paid for extra-quality eggs which bring twice the price of eggs in the local market. People cooperate in testing, stamping, packing, and shipping eggs.[80] This system not only creates a demand for eggs which are guaranteed but stimulates the breeding and feeding of poultry. Other products are treated in the same way. People learn that quality pays and that it is worth while to take pains to secure it.

When the work was begun the peasants had no methods for observation and recording, and no desire to learn. There was no keeping of adequate accounts. Now there is a different attitude and manner of life.

Various subsidiary industries are taught and people helped to dispose of their products. The center represents the spirit of service and leads others to contribute to community welfare without material reward.

Dr. Hatch says: "I maintain that there is no use of trying to teach processes of action by simple lectures . . . I strongly recommend the demonstration method of teaching, the method of showing, with active participation by the learner." [81]

Mr. J. J. de Valois of the American Dutch Reformed mission in Madras Presidency is head of the Katpadi Rural Reconstruction Center. This institution also specializes in pure-bred chickens and eggs. Its cooperative egg marketing societies send out about 13,000 improved eggs each month. The management has had special courses in poultry breeding and sells not only eggs but chicks, sending them all over India, as well as to Burma and Arabia. A self-supporting farm has been created on land which had been considered absolutely hopeless. Animal and fruit improvement also is on the program. Recently a gift from the Davison

Foundation has made it possible to establish a cooperative stores department which undertakes to buy from the villagers and sell direct to the consumers, thus eliminating middlemen who, by various tricks, cheat the peasants. The center has taken as its motto, *cruce et aratro,* by the cross and the plow, which was the motto of the Benedictine monks through whose monasteries Central Europe was largely evangelized.

At Pyinmana between Rangoon and Mandalay, the Rev. Brayton C. Case, born in the country of missionary parents, had an agricultural school opened in 1923 which trained its students to teach village people improved processes. Nearly three-fifths of the graduates have gone back to do agricultural work with their own hands, and nearly nine-tenths have taken up some form of work directly serving rural communities. Careful records were kept of the growth of various crops under different conditions. Mr. Case says that Christian pigs weighed as much at six months as heathen pigs do at two years, and that Christian hens were twice the size of native birds and laid four times as many eggs. Students went out weekly to the villages to conduct evangelistic meetings and served in any way they could.

Driven out by Japanese occupation, Mr. Case has been serving with the American Military Mission as a civilian on special duty. His aim is to help create understanding and goodwill as to the American attitude and also to indicate possible missionary contributions in problems of reconstruction.

In China the Agricultural Department of Nanking University, under interdenominational auspices, and Lingnan University, formerly Canton Christian College, are the two leading Christian institutions for research and exten-

sion work in agriculture. In 1937 when the war broke out the Nanking College of Agriculture and Forestry had trained 1,456 graduates, about 95 per cent of whom were engaged in the work for which they were trained, and who constituted about 40 per cent of the total forces engaged in agricultural improvements in China. The college has conducted extensive research work in crops and has distributed improved varieties of seed all over the country. It has received grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and has brought specialists from America to study the agricultural problems of China and give advice. The government has established twenty-four agricultural institutions of college grade but lacks trained leaders. Institutions like Nanking, which were in operation before the present Chinese government was ready to undertake systematic constructive work, have a great opportunity to supply agricultural leaders for the country.

Willard Simpson at Changli, Hopei, has conducted extended experiments to show that afforestation is not a mere matter of planting trees. There is needed systematic preparation of the soil by means of shrubs and hardy leguminous trees. The situation in North China demands careful study but there is hope of improvement if just the right methods are used.

One of the most careful students and active promoters of subsidiary industries in China is Professor J. B. Tayler, formerly on the faculty of Yenching University.[82] He calls attention to the fact that a number of village industries have sprung up in China in spite of commercial competition. He considers the fundamental needs to be federation of small producers, provision of credit, expert guidance and research, cooperative supply of equipment and raw materials, collective marketing arrangements, and electric

power. Mere advice may not always be accepted but demonstration of improved methods is likely to be copied. It is desirable to support methods which fit into the conditions of Chinese life. "Rural industry can be equipped with machines not beyond the skill or pockets of the farmers, but yet productive enough to provide a rising standard of living and to enable them to meet competition in a considerable range of suitable industries."

A striking statement of the relation of rural development to the kingdom of God is made by Arthur T. Mosher, who is on the faculty of Allahabad Agricultural Institute.[83] He says that rural development is a program, a method but not a cause, and may be inspired by various motives. It should be an integral part of the gospel. In dealing with Christians we should begin with teaching the gospel records, interpreting these in terms of modern village living, developing skill in Christian stewardship, and establishing habits which will promote Christian experience. He especially emphasizes the importance of developing abilities, not merely for the sake of secular improvement but as a part of the Christian program. These must be integrated into Christian worship as expressions of Christian living, with group habits of prayer, study, and discussion to help realize all their implications. Professor Mosher's statement is very suggestive. It apparently does not consider cases where rural development makes an approach to non-Christians. As indicated in the prolog to this book, our first contacts with these might be through meeting their felt wants rather than their most vital needs, gaining confidence through service which is appreciated in order that we may lead them to an appreciation of something better yet.

Some important work in rural reconstruction has been

done at Tunghsien (Tungchow) near Peiping under the direction of James A. Hunter. After the stimulating visits of Dr. Kenyon S. Butterfield to China in 1931 several rural institutes were held at Tunghsien, and a North China Rural Service Union was organized. Just before the Japanese occupation a rural institute of this union met at Anyang in Honan, and outlined an efficient program for rural work. It was recommended that village churches should consist of Christians in a single village or group of adjacent villages, organized into a larger parish with two or three hundred members and two full-time workers, a man and a woman, qualified to supervise lay workers and to influence home life. Outside agencies should supply technical advice as to adult education, health, agriculture, family contacts, and training of workers. There should be discussions of parents and special programs for youth. The aim is "the redemption of the whole of life through a church deeply rooted in the village," with the ideal of the establishing of a Christian social order. No one can read the report of these discussions without realizing that the traditional program of missionary life has been greatly broadened and enriched.

At Tunghsien a series of winter folk schools has been held for a number of years, during a period of eight to ten weeks when farmers can be spared from home. In agreement with the Danish folk schools, it was felt that the spirit of the school was more important than any specific course of study. The main objectives have been the creation of group loyalty, interested cooperation, and a contagious Christian spirit. With this in mind, the school was organized into a country village with each student representing the head of a family. A village head was elected and committees chosen for various functions. In this way

training was provided in taking the initiative for village welfare. Since church members were usually in the minority at the folk school they were organized and held responsible for the religious life of the village. They conducted services and performed other functions of a village church. Non-Christian students frequently became inquirers and probationers.

Alumni of the school maintain contacts with the center and render service to their communities. This work will endure in spite of Japanese occupation.[84]

Another interesting experiment, unfortunately destroyed by the Japanese, was the Shunhwachen village, a dozen miles outside of Nanking. This village, with a population of about two thousand, with many surrounding hamlets and a small church, had been selected for special experimentation. The Religious Education Department of the Union Theological Seminary, under the direction of Dr. Frank W. Price, the Agricultural Department of Nanking University, and the local presbytery united in conducting the experiment. A building was erected near the village to serve as a rural training center for students of the Theological Seminary. It had a small demonstration farm. A dispensary also was set up. A pastor qualified to promote a broad program was secured and the church at once showed the effects of the investment of brains and pains. A statement of the ten guiding principles of this project has often been quoted. They are: we should be openly Christian; should take part in rural reconstruction; should look at village life as a whole; should attempt a limited program of high quality; should live among the people; should stress personal relationships and group organization; should make large use of local resources; should cooperate with other agencies; should constantly stress the

moral basis of rural reconstruction; should build up the church. The leaders in this work are now in West China where they are continuing along the lines of these principles.

A movement which has had large development in the West and which is greatly needed in the East is that of cooperatives. In Sweden they have been notably successful.[85]

It is agreed that the moral effect of these organizations is quite as important as the economic. A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, in his thoughtful book on colonial policy, says that cooperatives are especially needed in the East because they make new combinations and break down old ones without making the individual anti-social.[86] This is an extremely significant statement. The West has had an overdose of rugged and too often ruthless individualism. In a society with plenty of elbow room initiative was fostered in individuals and competition between them. This order of self-help has bred some strong characters, but its limitations have become manifest to all but those who profit most by it. The East needs more initiative, but not at the expense of others, lest the last state be worse than the first. The narrow family ties must be relaxed, but only to permit progressive planning with a wider outlook. As Angelino remarks, cooperatives demand a morality both more impersonal and more universal than the group spirit.[87] Villagers who from now on will have increasing contacts with outsiders must acquire a conception of human brotherhood which takes in more than blood relatives and interests which go beyond the family circle.

Cooperatives are not automatically successful. They demand efficient management and careful adaptation to local conditions. In England consumers' cooperatives have had

remarkable growth. They presuppose consumption on a fairly large scale. In villages where standards of living are low and population small they are less practicable. In China and India, the type most acceptable are credit co-operatives but large numbers of these have come to grief for lack of competent administration and bookkeeping. The possibility of obtaining loans at lower rates of interest than those of the moneylenders is naturally so inviting that borrowings are far in excess of repayments. The late Mr. K. T. Paul, secretary of the National Y.M.C.A. Council of India, was deeply interested in rural welfare. He held that character was more important than property in granting credit and that the village *panchayet* was the best judge of who might be trusted. Loans advanced to irresponsible persons spell ruin.

Dr. Hatch endorses this statement and stresses the importance of refusing loans which are not for productive purposes.[88]

All those who have had experience with cooperatives agree on two points: first, the absolutely essential need of personal character for success; second, the tendency of properly conducted cooperatives to develop such character. One of the most experienced workers, Strickland, says that the essential thing in cooperatives is the spirit rather than the precise method.[89] Others note that the results are mostly intellectual and moral.[90] It is hard to hold loyalty to unrelated individuals.

An earnest supporter of the cooperative movement is Dr. Kagawa of Japan. His book, *Brotherhood Economics*, is an expansion of lectures delivered at Rochester in 1936.[91] He declares for seven types of cooperatives: insurance; producers; marketing; credit; mutual aid; utility to supply gas, water, transportation, etc.; consumers. He recognizes

that success depends on understanding the system and on preliminary education.

One of the most needed forms of cooperatives is for marketing. Peasants who are beginning to raise cash crops are too often fleeced by middlemen who buy when prices are lowest. Storage until prices go up would bring the farmer much larger returns. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India contends that cooperatives are usually too busy and too lacking in special knowledge to give the cultivator much help.

> His interests have, therefore, in the main, been left to the free play of economic forces and they have suffered in the process. For he is an infinitely small unit as compared with distributors and with the consumers of his produce who, in their respective fields, become every year more highly organised and more strongly consolidated.[92]

Cooperatives for such special purposes as housing, discouragement of extravagance, avoidance of malaria, and other conditions of social welfare are of the greatest importance.[93]

Hatch, reviewing several studies on the question, holds that cooperatives have failed to reach the poorest people and quotes Darling,[94] who found the prevailing opinion to be that nobody but a fool or a philanthropist would lend money to a pauper.[95] A cooperative movement which has justly aroused great interest and enthusiasm is that of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, best known by its cable name of Indusco.[96] With government backing, the organization of work was due mainly to the remarkable personality of Rewi Alley, born in New Zealand, who has worked with amazing efficiency. In small plants, sometimes hidden in caves, the most accessible raw materials were processed.

One of the early orders was to supply the army with 400,000 blankets, which were manufactured in record time and a further order for 1,500,000 followed.[97] China can afford to use more labor power and less machinery. Decentralized cooperative production will have much better chance to survive than small competitive factories. Much handicraft work can be given to peasants in their leisure time without organizing them into regular cooperatives.

Special conditions have made this movement in China not only possible but necessary. It should have a large place in the further industrial development of the country.

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We realize that the church is scarcely touching these problems. We had already organized a Child Welfare Center, Mother-craft Club, and classes for illiterates, but we were soon convinced that we were not getting at the source of the people's trouble by just treating babies and little children outside the home, and teaching mothers in class-room or club. These were necessary, but we felt that we must get at the source of contamination. We found this in the home environment, with the home-makers. We also realized that we must first establish a basis of friendship with those in the home. . . .

One mother with twins three months old, underfed and covered with infected itch, as she was herself, came to our Welfare Center. She had a most untidy home, and was so discouraged with the wailing, unattractive looking children that she would gladly have given one or both away to anyone who would take them. Inside of a year one would not have recognized her home, her babies or herself, and though she cannot read very well yet, and does not understand much of the Bible, she prays and takes pride in keeping a clean home as well as keeping herself and her children clean. She is a new creature. Her face shines with the joy of living. She has graduated in mother-craft, and before a church full of people demonstrated the proper way to give a baby a bath, and did it well.

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Chapter Four

INFUSING CHRISTIAN SPIRIT INTO SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE WORD "SOCIAL" MAY BE USED IN A BROADER SENSE TO include all that has to do with human welfare, physical, economic, intellectual and religious. As a matter of fact, all these aspects of life interact. Ideal projects of welfare should include them all. A narrower use of the word "social" may signify only the personal relationships of families, communities, and larger groups. These are so important that they will here be treated separately, with the understanding that they should not be thought of as unrelated to other ways of living.

Personal development depends on personal contacts, and its quality on the quality of the contacts. We gain ability to speak, reason, and form moral judgments only through social intercourse. There is a place for periods of solitude, but man was not born to be a hermit. We grow as we share the lives of others. Their influence and our reactions shape our characters for better or for worse.

The first and most intimate contacts are provided with the family, which is the primary social organization. It once controlled all phases of life. It was the economic, educational, and religious as well as the social unit. The history of civilization narrates how its functions have been

gradually taken over by institutions set up for special purposes, such as business organizations, social groups, schools, and churches. The principal characteristics of Western society are the way in which these institutions have multiplied for every specific purpose, and the comparative freedom which individuals have acquired to become connected with them. The members of a single American family may belong to opposite political parties, competing business firms, different clubs and social societies, spend their leisure time entirely apart, and attend different churches or none at all. This freedom of association is more marked in cities than in country districts, but even in the latter automobiles are making it possible for families to scatter. Treatises and novels discuss the loosening of family ties. We have more elopements and more divorces.

On the other hand, there is much effort to make the best of the situation. Social science has become a leading subject, beginning with child study and dealing with all forms of human contacts. This reflects itself in social legislation and an immense amount of voluntary uplift work.

I. Characteristics of Rural Life in Asia and Africa

Rural life in Asia and Africa presents a marked contrast to all this. The field is so vast and the variations so great even within the larger areas that generalizations would seem impracticable. Some villages represent the most primitive social and religious types; others have been strongly influenced by higher civilizations. The social regulations which obtain in one locality may be altogether unknown in another. Nevertheless, in comparison with modern Western life there are some characteristic differences which hold in the majority of cases.

In the first place, this life is static, backward-looking,

and for the sake of security, rather than dynamic, forward-looking, for the sake of progress. The social unit is the family or clan rather than the individual, and is frequently represented by a village. The main concern is not the personal development of the individual, but the welfare of the group. The most usual type of the family is the patriarchal, ruled by the father whose influence continues after he has become an ancestor. His spirit is supposed to resent any departure from custom, which is therefore strictly observed.

Such an order of life will have the following consequences: Physically, the all-important thing is that the family should perpetuate itself. The business of husbands is to beget sons, and of wives to bear them. If wives are barren other wives may be taken. To have children, especially sons, is an obligation. While the sexual urge may need little encouragement, and in some sections young men exercise a certain amount of choice in the selection of wives, marriage is in general for the sake of the family rather than for personal satisfaction. It is a union of families rather than of individuals. Brides are selected by parents with or without the consent of the young people. Especially in China and India, village young people are the least likely to exercise choice of their mates. In a multitude of cases the face of the bride is not seen by her prospective husband until after the wedding ceremony has been performed. The young man marries not a wife but a daughter-in-law who is the property of his family. He does not wait until he can support a wife and set up a home of his own, but marries when his parents dictate and lives with them. Marriage is outside the immediate clan, but within the larger social group. As a matter of fact, while often several generations live together in the same court-

yard, the tendency has increased for families to separate while parents are still alive.

Economically, as is frequently the case in America, the sons help work the farm even after marriage. There is a common treasury. Those unable to earn are supported by the rest. A primary obligation of the well-to-do in a country like China is to provide for relatives. On the other hand, those who rebel against family rule may be disinherited. Here again individual freedom is sacrificed to family security. Those who become wealthy often have great numbers of indigent relatives parked on them and feel unable to evade these obligations.

A missionary in China commented on the appearance of life insurance as a sign of the times. Oriental families must take care of all dependents who apply. A striking instance was reported by Dr. Edmund deS. Brunner:

> While the author was in Korea, the native secretary of one of the missionaries resigned. On being pressed for a reason, he said, "You pay me thirty-five *yen* a month. If I have thirty-five *yen* a month, my uncle and my cousin will come and live with me. If I have no work I can go and live with them. It is better that I should have no work." [1]

In general, Oriental women are subordinated socially, although those with force of character manage to assert themselves. The mother-in-law rules the younger wives and after her husband is dead may control the household. But in certain parts of Africa sons may inherit their fathers' wives. Segregation of the sexes usually takes place early, with little of the social intercourse between young people so characteristic of American life.

Culturally, what family education there is relates to the past, a transmission of inherited traditions. The education

of girls has in general been neglected, especially in the country. As Dr. Arthur H. Smith picturesquely puts it: "Since girls marry into other families, giving them an education is like putting a gold chain around the neck of a puppy who may be whistled away by a passing stranger."

Religiously, the head of the family performs the family rites by the authority of his position. Religion is not primarily a matter of individual belief which a person may change without altering his social habits. Popular non-Christian religion takes little account of what a man thinks inwardly. Its concern is only with his outward observance. Persons might subscribe to every article of the Christian creed and still be accepted as Hindus provided they transgressed no caste regulations. In China refusal to contribute to theatrical shows held in honor of idols might lead to ostracism. Private beliefs regarding the idols would not be questioned. Breach of custom is supposed to bring calamity on the whole community, and since communal observances are generally religious, all must join in their performance. The Middle Ages felt the same way about heretics. These were burned at the stake not so much to punish their crime as to prevent them from contaminating their surroundings, thus incurring the wrath of God. Adherence to non-Christian religion is mainly to obtain good luck. If omitted, it may bring bad luck on more than the individual who omits it.

In African family life there is the same social solidarity and control by elders, the same lack of nurture of individual personality, the same general subordination of women. But there are considerable variations in different parts of the continent. Separation of married sons and daughters from parents is more common than in India or China where it is increasing. Young men usually have more

initiative in the selection of their brides. Polygamy is more general, plural wives being an economic asset.

II. General Effect of These Social Features

The effect of such social arrangements on personal development will be to discourage initiative of thought and action. Since the elders rule, the youth have little practice in the exercise of initiative, and when they succeed to authority are likely to be conservative for life. William James [2] suggested that in the majority of human beings old-fogyism began at twenty-five. The way to avoid it is assiduously to cultivate independence of thought and action before this age is reached. When a social system absolutely discourages independent habits in early life it is not likely to reap a large crop of them later.

Lafcadio Hearn has a striking passage on Japanese education:

> Its object never has been to train the individual for independent action, but to train him for cooperative action—to fit him to occupy an exact place in the mechanism of a rigid society. Constraint among ourselves begins with childhood, and gradually relaxes; constraint in Far-Eastern training begins later, and thereafter gradually tightens. . . . In higher classes [of school] the pressure slightly increases; and in higher schools it is very much stronger; the ruling power always being class-sentiment, not the individual will of the teacher. . . . [After he becomes an official] less than ever before, does he belong to himself. He belongs to a family, to a party, to a government: privately he is bound by custom; publicly he must act according to order only, and never dream of yielding to any impulses at variance with order, however generous or sensible such impulses may be. A word might ruin him. . . .[3]

Parents Exert Too Much Control

Respect for parents living or dead is in itself a fine trait, especially in the form of Chinese filial piety. It has elements which should not be lost and which we would do well to imitate. It also has less desirable features. Parents may be arbitrary and narrow-minded. They may interfere with fellowship which should exist between husband and wife and the care these should give their own children. The saying from the book of *Genesis* (2:24) which Jesus quoted with approval,[4] "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother and cleave to his wife," is opposed to the order of patriarchal society. John H. Gubbins notes that in Japan the right of parents to maintenance takes precedence of that of wife and child.[5] Brides marry, not for companionship with their husbands, but to serve their mothers-in-law. Mrs. Das says that young brides never speak except to answer questions.[6] The Indian villager speaks to his wife only when necessary and expects only a word in reply. Among Chinese peasants there is little social intercourse between husband and wife before the birth of a child.[7] It is easy to understand that such repression is unhealthful for women and may prepare for highly explosive outbursts later.[8]

Likewise, when Christ set a child in the midst he turned attention to the generation most neglected in the patriarchal family. A classical example of Chinese filial piety is the little boy who lay naked in order to attract mosquitoes away from his parents. Christian parents would not accept such a sacrifice.

The Family Hinders Cooperation on a Larger Scale

When family interest takes precedence of all others it hinders cooperation on a larger scale. A striking sentence

related to China is that the family claim "obstructs the growth of disinterested public service, administrative integrity, and the impersonal loyalties demanded by a modern nation." [9]

People think of family advantage rather than of public welfare. There is lack of the community and national service so common in this country. Lin Yutang says that social service and public spirit are new terms.

Efficient administration is hampered by the fact that those who obtain office are expected to share their prosperity with their relatives. Nepotism, which is a term of reproach with us, has been considered a virtue in Chinese practice. Persons simply cannot refuse the appeals of members of the family.

Finally, loyalties are personal to individuals and groups, rather than impersonal to institutions and principles. A Chinese theological student abstracted funds placed in his care in order to buy a coffin for his father. This incident brings into vivid contrast the difference between our impersonal commercial morality and the Chinese claim of filial piety, which is given first place. Loyalty to principles and institutions makes possible cooperation with like-minded persons outside the family group. When Jesus said, "If any man comes after me and hates not his own father and mother, wife and children and brethren, he cannot be my disciple," he meant that loyalty to the kingdom of God must supersede every human claim.

III. New Influences Entering

The above statements refer to the social inheritance of the non-Christian world. Today new influences are entering for better or for worse. It is a tragic fact that when civilizations meet they seem to borrow the worst features

from each other more easily than the best. Rotten fruit falls most easily to the ground when the tree is shaken. The best things are obtained only through effort.

Consider the effects of bringing to bear the influences of modern Western civilization on such a life. Two decades ago John Dewey, on his first visit to China, was deeply moved by what he saw:

> Simply as an intellectual spectacle, a scene for study and surmise, for investigation and speculation, there is nothing in the world today—not even in Europe in the throes of reconstruction—that equals China. History records no parallel. Can an old, vast, peculiar, exclusive, self-sufficing civilization be born again? Made over it must be, or it cannot endure. Yet it must accomplish the making over in the face of facts and forces profoundly alien to it, physically, politically, industrially, intellectually, spiritually. All of the forces are strange, unprecedented. . . .
>
> History may be ransacked to furnish a situation that so stirs interest, that keeps a spectator so wavering between hope and fear and that presents so baffling a face to every attempt to find a solution.[10]

Western influences naturally reach first the more sophisticated and progressive members of society and are most in evidence in large cities. But gradually they work their way into the country districts. To form an accurate picture of this is enormously difficult. Some villages have been profoundly transformed. Journalists whose main stock in trade is impressionistic statements sometimes talk as if old things had passed away and all things had become new. It is fairly certain, however, that multitudes still live in primeval simplicity except for an occasional trinket which changes life no more than an Oriental curio does that of an American farmer. Missionaries from lands and sections remote from each other testify that there are still many

villages practically untouched by Western influences. Since almost the whole of Africa is under the control of European governments, the psychological influences of this are widely felt. Generalizations will underestimate some cases and overestimate others.

Things which penetrate most easily are small tools and gadgets which can be carried by peddlers, and which attract by their convenience or decorative quality. These ordinarily demand no change of custom. On the other hand, they may create new desires and stimulate the earning of money. Individual possession of cash makes persons independent and thus loosens social restraints.

Thomas Carlyle, in *Past and Present*, has denounced the disintegrating effect of what he calls the "cash nexus" on the sense of personal obligation. When a community lives on a subsistence basis without money, individual welfare depends on group support. While they remain in their homes, persons are fed, clothed, and sheltered. When they go abroad they are cut off from the source of supply. But those with money in their pockets are no longer dependent on family care or the hospitality of kindred. They can command the services of strangers wherever they go provided they can pay for them. They can neglect their family and be disowned by them without discomfort. Possession of cash emancipates them from all previous social obligations. They can snap their fingers at the restraints of village custom. The peasant who returns to his home with money savings will never again be so amenable to tribal discipline.

Rapid Changes Cause Dislocation

Suddenly to infuse up-to-date ideas and habits into a medieval-minded community will inevitably cause violent

social dislocation. "Security is the key to the institutions of Asiatic society. . . . The older the social order, the more rigid this code of security becomes, the more delicate the equilibrium of society and the more shattering the effect of withdrawing the loyalties which maintain the social balance." [11] On this point Westermann comments: "The absorption of one civilization by another is a process which has often occurred in history; but probably never has the distance between the old and the new, and between the two races concerned, been so great nor the process itself so rapid and intense as in the case of Africa." [12] The meeting of two civilizations usually breaks down sanctions faster than it builds them up. Discriminating individuals have the ability to appropriate the finest parts of the new things offered but the masses tend to get only the cheaper products.

We cannot afford, therefore, to let brute forces take their course in social life any more than in the cultivation of the soil. We must help to prune the deadwood, fertilize the roots of village family life and graft on it the best of our Western spirit.

Society in pagan villages, as everywhere else, hangs together by conventions which represent adjustments to surroundings. These adjustments may not always be ideal but they have come to be accepted customs which furnish social stability. Many of them are so interrelated that the collapse of any one custom is felt through the whole social structure. If even those which are most open to criticism are destroyed they may dislocate many other relationships. When superstition is discredited fear of certain kinds of wrongdoing also may disappear. It is generally agreed that the abolition of slavery in America was a good thing. It is also admitted that the stroke of the pen which signed

the Emancipation Proclamation was not an adequate solution of the matter. Constructive work was needed both to enable the slaves to make the best use of their liberty and to rehabilitate the political, economic, and social system of the southern states. Merely to abolish slaveholding and then let matters take their course led to great and unnecessary suffering.

IV. Sympathetic and Intelligent Approach Needed

What is needed is an approach that is first of all not only disinterested, but also surcharged with idealism. It must be constructive, intelligent, and sympathetic. It must bring to bear warm personal contacts. It must have a message of hope, to supply motives for effort. There would seem to be no body of persons who meet these requirements except Christian missionaries at their best.

In the first place, these missionaries have dedicated themselves to the welfare of the people as a lifework. They expect to stay on the job until something is accomplished. They realize that success depends on a thorough study of conditions and the winning of confidence. Their service is disinterested and centered in the best personal development of those with whom they deal. They not only set an example of the kind of family life which should be imitated, but admit nationals into their homes as the majority of other foreigners are unwilling to do. The position their women occupy and the lives they lead exert a powerful influence. At a time when so many of the phases of Western social life are demoralizing, especially to those unable to evaluate them, and the methods of Westerners in dealing with rural people are so often sordid and even harsh, there is need of persons who will transmit only the best of Western civilization and guard against the worst.

Importance of Winning Whole Households

The general absence of separate homesteads in Asia and Africa and the huddling together of the rural population in villages indicates a background very different from ours and creates a different type of character. This, together with the close-knit relationships of the family and clan, makes it especially desirable that Christianity should seek to win whole families and communities instead of merely isolated individuals. When only the husband is a Christian there is not only loss of Christian fellowship with his wife, but lack of Christian nurture for the children. Women in more primitive society represent the conservative element which resists new ideas. Men, who are free to follow their progressive impulses when away from home, often find themselves stifled by the atmosphere of the household managed by their wives. On the other hand, when only the wife is a Christian her duty of submission makes it difficult for her to cultivate her Christian life.

In Asia and Africa religion is a community affair which does not provide for nonconformity. Sacred and secular are not kept apart, and therefore the secular is sanctioned by religion. It is not easy to be a member of a different religion and still participate freely in all civic life, since so much of the latter is under the auspices of religion.

Christianity is not mere conformity to public opinion. It suffered a decline when it became the official religion of the Roman state. The aim of winning a whole community to Christ is not to make it a conventional matter for the individual to be a Christian. It is rather to make possible the Christianizing of social relationships as would not be possible in a community largely non-Christian. Much more than formerly we have become conscious of the importance

of a wholesome environment. There are some individuals who seem able to survive almost any surroundings. Moreover, it often requires adverse circumstances to call out the best in human nature. On the other hand, the mortality is always greater in unfavorable situations. A larger proportion of children die in families of the lowest incomes. We take precautions against infection, not because we expect it to sweep away the entire population if unchecked but because it tends to increase disease and death.

Since in the non-Christian world religion and social life are so closely related, and since the community pressure restricts individual initiative so much more than in this country, it is especially desirable in the interest of social uplift that not only whole families but even whole communities should be won for Christianity.

Recognition of the Virtues and Limitations of Village Society

The village society of Asia and Africa has faults which are obvious enough to outsiders and which need to be overcome, but it also has virtues which should be preserved. It lacks the freedom and flexibility of Western life but thinks more of its social obligations.

The sense of personal property which is at the basis of our system, developing personality traits both lovely and unlovely, is not conspicuous in the pagan village community. Miss Mabel Shaw tells how the delight of her children in their Christmas bags was created by the prospect of sharing them with their families at home:

> I have never found a child who wanted to keep her bag to herself; the great joy is to go and share it amongst the family. My thought at first was that the families snatched the things

from the children, and they simply had to let them go. The truth is, the child never dreams the things are hers alone. As she belongs to the family, so do the things she possesses. . . .[13]

In China, members of the family group do not hesitate to ask for loans. These requests practically cannot be refused.

The willingness to sacrifice for the sake of the group sometimes goes to great lengths. An African mother may put to death a child which shows some abnormality, not for want of affection but because she believes that such an infant would bring disaster on the tribe. The victims of human sacrifice are said sometimes to submit willingly to what they believe is for the welfare of the community.

Conformity to group demands may smother personal development. Loyalty to the village or clan may involve hostility to other villages or clans whose interests conflict. A missionary from South China remarked that when difficulties arose within a village they were settled by the headmen but when they arose between villages there was nothing to do but fight it out.

No one should lightly undertake to give advice in such a situation. Very thorough knowledge of village mentality and inherited attitudes is needed. Things good in themselves may be prematurely offered. The peasant may be a non-Christian whose life we are trying to shield from some of the temptations of an entering civilization or he may be a recent convert whose acceptance of Christ has not yet created for him new social ideals. In either case it is as important that the missionary should have intimate acquaintance with his background as it is for those who deal with children and adolescents in this country. Even Christianity, as Dr. Edwin W. Smith, a leading student of

African social life, says, should be presented not in antagonism to but in fulfillment of their best aspirations.[14] Christianity will have much to change in this background, as it has in ours, but the transformation should not be made unnecessarily difficult.

V. Specific Social Problems

To take up some specific problems, how can we develop individual personality and fellowship with outsiders without destroying the family and community support which has been the strongest influence of the past? In China this problem is most connected with the family and clan, in India with caste, and in Africa with tribal authority. The large family in China has been a practical necessity. Dr. Chester S. Miao, acting secretary of the National Christian Council and one of the most levelheaded Chinese Christians, though brought up in a non-Christian family, says that neither the large nor the small family system is altogether satisfactory. Each has its advantages. He believes that under present circumstances the small family system cannot be immediately adopted.

A corollary to the large family is the selection of brides by parents. Girls who are to live under the rule of a mother-in-law must be picked when they are yet young and pliable. We tend to revolt at this procedure, and it certainly is open to objections. But how is it to be replaced? Are village youth to be given the same freedom of choice which obtains in the West and which ends in such a large percentage of divorces? If our young people, with all their opportunity for social contacts with the opposite sex, so frequently guess wrong, how can we expect that in a society where the sexes are segregated early and have few interests in common, selection will be wisely made? The

first step is surely to seek to promote wholesome intercourse between the sexes.

In China, there has been considerable progress, most of it in larger centers. A woman missionary from South China remarked that fifteen years ago it was not considered proper that she should walk in the street beside a Chinese pastor. In the churches there were formerly partitions between the male and female members of the congregation and even yet the sexes usually sit on opposite sides of the house. Choir practice has been a means of bringing young men and women together under wholesome auspices. A lot of spadework with both parents and young people will be necessary before Western freedom is advisable.

Some years ago, while visiting a girls' school in Luxor, Egypt, the writer was told that at the school commencement the graduating class appeared on the platform to read essays. Lined around the walls were young men who were taking advantage of their only chance to see these girls in public, and who sent in a large batch of proposals on the basis of this very casual observation.

Another reason for adult education in China is the danger that generations may drift apart. A much larger proportion of young people have attended school than have adults. As John Foster says, problems have been created in the West because twentieth century young people had Victorian parents, while in China most young people have medieval parents. Missionaries report that there is often a wide gap between fathers and sons and between old-fashioned mothers-in-law and the rising generation. An increase of schooling will not meet this difficulty. The adults must be dealt with directly.

In India much the same situation is found, but it is complicated by caste. One's caste is both a mutual benefit

society and a board of discipline. In America a person who severs connection with one social or economic organization can usually join another. To cease membership in the local Methodist or Presbyterian church does not deprive him of civic rights. The Hindu who is outcasted becomes literally an outcast. He is no longer a member of the local brotherhood. Caste regulations are less strict than they once were but they still constitute one of the most serious problems to be reckoned with in India.

Many non-Christian Indian students absorb more advanced social ideals in Christian colleges but find it impossible to live up to them when they return to their homes. Adults must be reached, although the job will be even more difficult than that of altering the attitudes in some sections of the American South on the Negro question. A man's caste has back of it his karma, the immutable law of the universe.

With Christians, the problems are to remove caste distinctions between church members as much as possible and to build up a Christian brotherhood which will supply some of the functions of caste. Outcaste Christians frequently lack sympathy for those of still lower castes and do not welcome them into the church. Adult education, with cooperative projects, should help in overcoming prejudice.

Here an opposite danger is met. Christianity becomes a new caste with a communal vote assigned it which leads it to pursue its own, rather than national, interests. The charge is frequently made that Christians become denationalized. Many of those from the lower castes have never had any conception of citizenship or feeling of patriotism. Regarded with aversion by both Hindus and Moslems, their loyalty is only to their own local group, often with none

toward members of other Christian bodies. Adult education in Christian citizenship would seem once more to be in order.

Some Characteristic African Social Problems

In Africa there has been much discussion on the subject of tribal authority. Some governments substitute their own rule for this while others adopt the system of what is known as indirect rule, by which the chief is permitted to manage local affairs subject to restraint only when he goes too far. It is held that morale is impaired if the old tribal law is altogether set aside. In theory the chief is not an arbitrary despot but a father of his people and responsible for their welfare. He consults with his councilors. A wise and benevolent chief like Khama of the Bamangwato in Bechuanaland was a great blessing, although a weak and vicious character may be a great curse. When the customs of the tribe are challenged by new ideas, internal loyalty is weakened.

The absence of men at the mines, where they are no longer restrained by custom and where they earn wages to spend as they choose, operates to weaken respect for tribal authority. Chiefs need instruction on how to administer their rule in the wisest way and their subjects need to be instructed on how to promote the best welfare of the tribe.

To prepare for adult membership in the tribe, initiation ceremonies are very general. These usually contain some wholesome instruction as to tradition and customs, but include things which are less wholesome and, in order to make an indelible impression, discipline so severe that it sometimes results in death, together with a large amount of mysterious mummery. The ceremonies are crude, terrifying, and unforgettable. Only those who can pass the

ordeal are considered worthy to enter the tribe. Initiation of girls is less stringent.

On this subject the opinions of missionaries differ. Some find the whole procedure so objectionable that they would wipe it out entirely; others believe that it should be taken over, purified, and made a basis of entrance into the Christian community. They would retain the idea of deeply impressive ceremonies at entrance into the Christian community so that young people should not feel altogether cut off from the traditions of their people,[15] but should also recognize that entrance into the Christian community has very serious meaning.

Africans who conduct the initiation ceremonies are those who hold most stiffly to tradition and would presumably be most difficult to influence. In order to accomplish anything at all with such persons it would be necessary to acknowledge the elements in the performance which are desirable and to suggest modifications which would achieve their aim better. In other words, the approach would be thorough adult education of non-Christians. Unfortunately, there may be few missionaries in a position to exercise such influence.

Another subject much discussed is that of the so-called bride price, one of the names of which is *lobolo.* This rests on assumptions foreign to our thought. In most sections, a girl who marries becomes a member of her husband's tribe and the children she bears belong to his tribe. In compensation for the loss of a member and as a guarantee of good treatment the prospective husband makes over to the girl's family material property, cattle, hoes, or other articles. If the wife leaves him because of ill-treatment the husband cannot claim repayment. If, however, the wife leaves without cause the amount must be refunded. To this

extent the system makes for welfare and stability in marriage. Of course, like the arrangements of our own economic system, it is open to abuses. Girls may be made over to suitors who can pay the highest price. While, on the one hand, girls are given a sense of importance when the lobolo is large, on the other, they may prefer a smaller amount so that divorce will be less difficult.

It is easy for unsympathetic outsiders to perceive the objectionable features of such a system. It is also not difficult for outsiders to note abuses in our own capitalistic system, which result in the tragedies of unemployment and starvation wages. The early missionaries frequently took Western civilization as the criterion of excellence and regarded anything which deviated from its ideas of propriety as heathenish. There is need of adult education on both sides. We must learn to appreciate the worthy ideals which sometimes have crude manifestations, and Africans must be helped to give their ideals more efficient expression. Especially with the Christian community, all such customs should be sympathetically discussed rather than summarily condemned. Lobolo should be treated like rebuilding a bridge without interruption of traffic. Every piece removed must be at once replaced so that the change is gradual rather than sudden.

Even on the subject of polygamy there is difference of opinion among missionaries. It has an economic basis. In large sections women do most of the work in the fields. The more wives a man has the more work is done for him and the less falls to any one woman. For this reason women often are glad to have co-wives. The fact that rural pagan society expects every woman to marry makes polygamy practically necessary. The prophet Harris, on the Ivory Coast, with the example of some so-called saints of the

Old Testament before him, did not forbid plural wives.

The differences among missionaries are not as to the desirability of the system but as to the ways of dealing with it. Should a man with several wives send all away except the one he married first? What is to become of their children? In some cases it may be easy for the women to find other husbands. Is this Biblical? Their families may not be willing to receive them back, especially if the bride price is not refunded. Should a woman without visible means of support be turned loose on the world when her most likely occupation will be prostitution? Should not distinction be made between willful polygamists and those who cannot dispose of extra wives without great hardship to them? Should polygamists be excommunicated or merely denied access to the sacraments? In polygamous households should men and women be subject to the same church discipline? The social and economic background of African life thus creates problems for Christian thought and action which would not arise in America.

Before either the attitude of toleration or that of uncompromising opposition is taken the possibilities of adult education should be exhausted on both sides. Missionaries should study the question carefully in all its bearings and African Christians should be helped to realize the implications of the system.*

The Need of Wholesome Recreation

A favorite form of recreation among African villagers is the dance. This seems a natural way of expressing emotion. In some places children begin to learn to dance as

* On this subject see "a paper prepared by the students of the African Department of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Connecticut," with the title *The Church Conference on African Affairs*, pp. 26-27.

soon as they can walk.[16] American missionaries in the Cameroun say that people break out into dancing at a church service and that the announcement of forgiveness in Christ may send them away dancing and singing. Women enjoy dancing in the evening after they have finished their work. On the other hand, some of the dances have had objectionable features, which led certain missionaries to condemn them altogether.

Mrs. E. M. Engwall, of the American Baptist Mission in the Congo, reports that African women say that dancing leads to adultery. There are times when people dance all night and sleep during the day.

If such exercises are merely suppressed an undesirable vacuum is left. A young East African says that doing away with social dances left people with nothing to do in the evenings.[17]

A leading African Christian, D. D. T. Jabavu, expresses himself vigorously:

> Take the abolition of amusements and musical dances with nothing else put in their place. The non-convert natives taunt the Christians with being a lugubrious, long-faced, and unamused community devoid of the fun-making entertainments of the good old times. This lack of gayety in native Christian communities has led to the other extreme and unconsciously abetted the evils of gambling, drunkenness, and immorality. Until adequate substitution of innocent pleasures is made, the gospel will not thrive.[18]

The words which should be printed in italics are "adequate substitution." Here is an important job for social education.

In China the rural investigation conducted by Dr. Frank W. Price indicated that in 89 per cent of the villages studied the principal difficulty in the use of leisure time was

excessive gambling. The farmer has periods of unoccupied time, especially in the North. For the illiterate and those with limited interests, gambling has a strong appeal. Kulp, reporting for South China, says:

> Gambling gets such a hold on some of the members that they end in complete ruin. One member of the village realized the extent to which he was controlled by the habit, so he cut off the fingers of his left hand to keep himself from the allurements of the game. But when the New Year holidays came around again, he was found playing with cards by holding them between the stump of his hand and his knee.[19]

Reports are numerous of the way in which gambling leads to the sale of wife and children.

Opium smoking likewise is a habit contracted in great measure for want of opportunities for wholesome recreation.

An interesting example of the promotion of a wholesome program of recreation in the village where there were as yet no Christians is found in a paper by Mrs. Hugh Hubbard of Paotingfu, North China:

> . . . we organized a Recreation Committee which divided into several bands. One of these practiced Chinese boxing, a sport like fencing, under the efficient leadership of a villager. This band later went also to the nearby villages and brought honor to us by its skillful performances. Another group prepared two plays to be given on three nights in different parts of their own village and later to be given at neighboring villages. A movie, with nature study pictures, Bible Stories of Joseph and the Prodigal Son and stories from Chinese history was held in three centers in the village. Another band planned a variety of simple games, which could be taught to a number of individuals in their own homes to take the place of gambling. Six homes were opened on different streets for these social games; these,

with the new interests that had come to the village, acted as a real substitute for the usual dissipations. . . .

It was great fun to be in the village at New Year's time, for this is the great playtime of the year, with almost a month of comparative leisure. . . . The fun began about dark: sometimes when we were eating our supper we would hear the drums, and the announcement, "Players are coming from Wu Li He." We would put down our chop sticks, put on our padded Chinese coats, and go to meet the theatrical company. And there down the dark road, lanterns waving, would come the actors. As they came nearer we could hear the sounds of the drum, as large as an ordinary dining room table, fifes and horns, making a tremendous harmony in accurate rhythm. . . . Now they were welcomed by the whole village, and led to the largest court yard and to the platform, which, in reality, was the top to the family vegetable cellar. All the village listened to the play with bated breath, applauded each set, and then at its close followed to hear the last strains of the music. . . .[20]

Villages in various parts of the world greatly enjoy watching plays, and young people enjoy presenting them. Children in Sunday school love to dramatize Bible stories.

This fondness for dramatics has been capitalized by students working for social welfare. They prepared skits which satirized backward customs and gave them for the benefit of village audiences. Dr. and Mrs. Harper, formerly of Moga, in North India, told of boys worshiping a great mosquito and having a badly pockmarked man argue against vaccination. Peasants will sit up late to witness such exhibitions. This is a cheap and effective way of making leisure profitable. It would be worth while putting a lot of brains and effort into stimulating and improving the quality of such amateur dramatics.

The Call to World Brotherhood

One of the greatest events of the twentieth century is the revolt of the masses, the dissatisfaction of the lower strata of society with their past lot and their desire to better themselves. In the words of General Smuts, "Humanity has struck its tents and is on the march."

These words are a warning to our modern Christianity. We profess a brotherhood which we have not realized in action. Many of our churches are class affairs. With many Christians personal associations are based much more on similarity of secular tastes than on that of Christian profession. The existence of race and class prejudice in Western Christianity will be a great handicap to its spread over the earth. At a time when the spirit of nationalism is drawing men of all classes together, the church cannot afford to be caught napping on the issue of real brotherhood. Freedom from race prejudice is a primary requirement of a missionary candidate.

Three essentials are to be realized on the field: The missionary must get rid of paternalism in his relations to all classes of people. He must promote Christian brotherhood among converts who may be drawn from different social classes. He must help those most oppressed with an inferiority complex to rise above it. Again we find large scope for adult education.

VI. Some Projects in the Social Education of Village Adults

The Christian message by its very nature tends to promote social uplift. From every field there is testimony of the existence of Christian homes where the atmosphere is different, where the personality of women and children is

more respected, where there is greater regard for outsiders. Dr. Walter Clothier reports that the Cameroun villages which are Christian can be told at once from those which are pagan. Christian women are more concerned about their families and in keeping their houses and villages clean. In one case a chief was so pleased with his wives who had become Christians that he beat up the others.

Schools can make large contributions to social welfare by a study of the local situation and by promotion of habits of helpfulness.[21]

The example of missionary family life, in striking contrast to what may have been seen in Western films, has in some instances counted for more than preaching. The courtesy and respect which missionaries show for their wives were in many cases at first misunderstood and even created scandal, but in the end has had marked effect on the treatment of women. The Christian family meal, where all gather together around the table and the mother is helped first, is a novelty in most parts of the pagan world.

All this is to the good, but it is not sufficient. The best education is constantly self-critical, searching for methods which will hit nearer to the center of the target.

In our religious educational work among adults in this country we have organized numerous conferences and institutes. People who attend these are likely to be the most progressive-minded of their various localities. They have the stimulus of inspiring leadership without the dampening influence of the conservative and indifferent. They enjoy continuous contacts on a higher level. Our best life owes much to these gatherings, which are constantly raising our standards.

Such contacts are especially needed for villages whose surroundings are so devoid of ozone. People breathe noth-

ing but the stifling atmosphere of tradition. They want to be like their neighbors and not to set themselves up as superior. They lack both new ideas and the ability to apply them. The principal method of adult education for villages has been this bringing together of groups of the most progressive members of communities. Fortunately, most peasants, and especially those who live in colder climates, have periods of the year when there is comparatively little to do. The two methods most used by missionaries are visitation of villages, preferably by teams of workers and for stays of some weeks, and gathering people together in institutes. In Korea, there has been great success with the latter plan. Numbers of both men and women come sometimes long distances and bring their own food for institutes mainly on the Bible. At Tungchow, near Peiping, farmers, about three-fourths of them non-Christians, come to discuss improved methods of agriculture. Attendance at such an institute gives a man standing in his village because he knows more than the rest.

Dr. Chester S. Miao, when asked what he considered the principal needs of Christian work in China, said the establishment of local institutes to promote better homes. These should last ten days to two weeks, and be made up largely of women. Also, there should be regional institutes for leaders, using programs prepared at the central headquarters. There should be training schools, with experiment and demonstration centers.

Here is an almost unlimited field of operations demanding energetic, resourceful, and contagious personalities to head the work, programs constantly improved by experimentation, and patient multiplication of teachers who can do all grades of work.

For more thorough preparation still longer contacts are

desirable. A very interesting experiment illustrating this is the mother-craft school, conducted for many years by Miss Mary Jones at Huchow, Chekiang Province. Women came to live in the school with their children, the full course being three years in length. Much of the work had to do with home economics, the preparation of food, hygiene, management of funds, etc., but there were also some original and highly suggestive courses on personal relationships in the home. These included: parent and child relationships, varied problems of children, parents and the problems of adolescence, child psychology, conversation with and before children, courtesy, and punctuality. Such work in its Chinese application is a novelty and is surely much to the point.

Naturally only a small proportion of rural women can attend such schools. Therefore, visitation of homes becomes necessary.

As the result of suggestions made in the report of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission, which visited Africa in 1920-1921 under the chairmanship of Dr. T. J. Jones, the so-called Jeanes System of Teachers was introduced into Africa and has been very effective.[22]

The report stated that by 1935, a body of some one hundred male teachers had been secured, employed mostly by missions. While their points of contact were local schools and churches, they had a broad program of village improvement. They aimed to inspire the village teachers with their own ideals. In addition, there were women who were properly home demonstrators and had no connection with schools. They visited the different kraals and gave practical demonstrations. It is generally agreed that these close and repeated contacts are the most effective way of influencing home life. One of the great tasks of the mis-

sionary enterprise is to multiply the number of trained workers who can get inside village homes.

There are many instances of traveling teams of workers combining health, agriculture, and social work with evangelism. One example is a report from the Lintsing and Tehchow districts of the American Board.

A training school for lay workers had been conducted for a number of years with results not altogether satisfactory. In 1932 it was decided to close the school and send teams out to the villages to demonstrate methods on the spot. After the Anyang conference the Larger Parish Plan was adopted. Teams consisted of "an adult education and church worker, a women's and children's specialist with interest in all phases of home work, a public health nurse, and an agricultural worker." They spent a year in a parish working in close cooperation and giving intensive training to laymen and laywomen. The length of the stay gave time to reach all the churches in the parish, study conditions, get projects started, and help lay people to carry them on.

Some of the general principles at the basis of this work are as follows: (1) to begin with field needs and develop them into enlarged plans; (2) to cultivate local initiative; (3) to begin with definite and easy projects in order to create confidence through success; (4) to stress dependence on prayer and spiritual resources; (5) to stimulate a sense of responsibility for the home community and not just for the church members. Training institutes to bring lay workers together were held from time to time.[23]

It is of the utmost importance that the student class in countries like China and India, where the majority of the population is rural, should become interested in village reconstruction. Many years ago Mr. Chang Po-ling, in conversation, gave his reason for sending his Nankai students

out to do village work: if the privileged classes were not concerned for the welfare of the less privileged, Chinese society would fall apart. The commission which investigated Christian higher education in India recommended that colleges should "help in the service of the community by finding answers to the practical problems of village life which confront the pastor and the teacher" through departments of research and extension.[24] There have been some encouraging developments along this line in both China and India, universities setting up courses in rural reconstruction and home economics, and students with degrees going out to live in villages among the illiterate peasants.

Miss Irma Highbaugh, Methodist missionary, formerly of Changli, is now in West China where she has been helping in the promotion of Christian home life in villages. She tells of a summer project for college students. Not only was real help rendered but students were given insight into the problems of rural life and inspired with a desire to contribute to their solution. "Daily the girls return home excited about their friendly contacts and anxious to continue them." One university girl said: "I never dreamed that women anywhere had such a lowly place. Husbands can beat their wives or even sell them, and the woman has no place." Moonlight meetings for adult education were held from 9:30 to midnight. Work was done for little children left behind by their mothers when the latter went to work in the fields. These children were retarded almost two years and greatly needed development. Those from different homes learned to play together voluntarily, for the first time, and those who had been better nourished became energetic and alert as a result of improved diet. Parents did their best to cooperate. Children were weaned, given vegetables

to eat, and no longer beaten. Fathers who had led in opposition were won over and helped in many ways. Parents wept when the students left and urged them to come again for the winter vacation.[25]

Still more important is the permanent residence, in villages, of teachers with a social program. A testimony as to the value of such work comes from Miss Charlotte C. Wyckoff, missionary of the Reformed Church in America, in South India. She speaks of visiting a village where people had been Christians for seventy-five years but where there was no noticeable difference between them and their non-Christian neighbors in external appearance or in general attitude toward life. In another village, where half the people had become Christians only six months before, the difference was marked in their habits and homes and in the indications of response to the Christian message. The difference was attributed to the character of the resident native teacher and especially of his wife, a couple with little education but much devotion and practical wisdom.

Miss Wyckoff contrasts this with the brief and occasional visits of the foreign missionaries. The real function of the latter, she holds, is to train workers in rural centers, which should secure the cooperation of government and other agencies. The training of women, who are the homemakers, is supremely important but their husbands must also be taught to cooperate.

> If each village center could have a nursery school and day nursery, a good central school with such organizations—adapted to the environment—as Four-H clubs, boy scouts and girl guides, as well as play grounds and music and dramatics for every age, the barrenness of village life would not, as it now does, either drive away the best young people to the towns or dull the initiative of those who remain. The children can often influence

their parents when nobody else can. When they become parents in their turn, they will start with higher ideals of home life because of their early training.[26]

The supply of persons able to stay for even a few weeks in a village is limited, and still more so the number of teachers available for permanent residence. To supplement these all too scanty efforts, the National Christian Council of China has taken the lead in systematic work for Christianizing the home. A committee with a full-time secretary prepares material for home use. There are posters illustrating features which should characterize the Christian home: fellowship, regard for old and young, hygiene, wholesome recreation, study, and family worship. These posters are very cheap and have been tested. There is a book of songs for Christian homes, a pamphlet on family recreation and social life and one on the culture of children, with illustrations. There are simple programs for family devotions. The committee has promoted three five-year periods, each year centering on a special subject, such as "The Home in the Present Crisis" and "Happiness of the Whole Family in Recreation and Cooperation."

The third period, 1941-1945, is stressing the subject of training leaders. Tons of printed material have been sent all over the country and secretaries have visited all sections for conferences and instruction.[27]

The committee is trying to interest students in senior high schools, especially girls, in this enterprise, inducing some to take it up as a lifework.

Miss Highbaugh has prepared some significant material on Christianizing the rural home in China.[28] She calls attention to the fact that churches are located mainly in market towns, at which men coming to trade hear the gospel and become Christian, while their wives in the vil-

lages are not reached. Therefore, meetings for discussion are held in the homes. The first approach has to do with felt needs, which leads to the discovery of other problems. People are encouraged to cooperate in the "Christianizing the Home Campaign" annually promoted by the N.C.C. Committee. "In smaller villages a family organization with departments for the heads of the house, mothers-in-law, daughters-in-law, older daughters and children is a success. The whole club meets a few times a year for social hours and each section meets every two weeks for problems of its own." Outlines for discussion have been prepared. The very live questions of principles to be observed in betrothals, secondary wives, the Christian responsibility of fathers, and desirable kinds of wedding ceremonies are presented for discussion. These begin with typical case studies as a basis for the application of Christian principles. This is bringing the New Testament up to date.

Under the auspices of the National Christian Council of India a similar campaign has been undertaken. It began with an informal conference in August, 1941. Three approaches were considered: (1) special schools, courses, and conferences on the problems of home life; (2) contacts with the home life of the Christian constituency; (3) preparation and circulation of literature on the subject. Progress has been made along all these lines. The program for the home includes physical well-being, social and cultural development, and deepening religious experience. It is encouraging that the missionary enterprise in India is giving specific attention to this matter. In order to reach village people a greatly enlarged budget should be provided.

By such methods as these, missionaries are helping village adults to appreciate and assimilate the principles of Christianity as applied to their family and community life.

There also is need of an enormous amount of sanctified ingenuity on a far greater scale to help in realizing the best possibilities of the social life of peasants in Asia and Africa.

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The Church is Called to a Deep and Sincere Interest in the Religious Life of Those to Whom it Goes

. . . it is not sufficient to present the Christian truth in terms that satisfy western theologians alone, but the Gospel has to be proclaimed in terms and modes of expression that make its challenge intelligible in actual life situations. Adaptation in this meaning of the word is a natural and essential method of approach to the mind and heart of the non-Christian. It must not in any way impair the integrity of the entire Gospel of Christ.

The Church is Called to a Fuller and More Adequate Understanding of Other Religious Faiths as Total Systems of Life

. . . The connection between Christianity and a foreign civilization may at one time have attracted primitive people but today it often repels them. They feel the need to save those forms of life which have been their cultural home. The Church needs a better knowledge of the social "milieu" so that it may rightly distinguish between good and evil elements and cleanse the communal life of its converts without becoming a party to its destruction.

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Chapter Five

PROMOTING CHRISTIAN GROWTH

CHRISTIAN GROWTH IS THE KEYSTONE OF THE ARCH. LITeracy, health, economic and social welfare miss their best possibilities unless they are consecrated to God. The subject of this chapter is placed last, not because it follows the other topics chronologically, but because it is of supreme importance. The Christian spirit should penetrate all missionary work. In some cases the evangelistic message may come first and lead to other developments; in other cases help in improving physical and economic conditions may predispose people to attend to the message.

In recent years there has been increasing commitment to what is known as the broader program of missionary work as expressed in the statement of the Jerusalem Conference quoted on page 23. Those who have enlisted as disciples of Christ should be the most intelligent, efficient, and useful people in the world. We desire not only that their abilities should be thoroughly consecrated, but that they should have more than meager abilities to consecrate. Therefore, we need Christian *education.*

We who are responsible for the promotion of the missionary enterprise desire also to consecrate our own abilities, to profit by all experience past and present, in order

constantly to revise our methods. It is no disparagement to the noble army of workers who have gone before that we wish to advance further. They would be the first to be disappointed if we failed to do this. Without the trails they blazed our highways would not be possible.

I. Assumptions of the First Missionary Approach

In the Christian approach to the non-Christian world in the last hundred and fifty years there are more or less explicitly present in the minds of most missionaries certain assumptions which have had great influence on their methods. Some workers would have affirmed them more definitely than others. Nevertheless, because each contains a measure of truth they have been made the basis of much of missionary procedure.

(1) The first assumption is as follows: Essential Christianity is the particular version of the Christian inheritance which we have received. It is probably true that the inheritance of every Christian body contains something of essential Christianity, but no form of existing Christianity can claim to possess all the essentials and nothing else. Every Christian body has built on the one foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, or stubble. It has transmitted both kernel and husk. It has produced great saints and miserable sinners. None has a right to say: I alone know the way.

This confidence that its particular form of Christianity is what the non-Christian world most needs has been a great stimulus to missionary effort and has led to a great variety of agencies on the field, many of them cordially cooperating or observing arrangements of comity, but a few actually competing. Some of them guard beliefs and practices which are hardly more than historical accidents

as jealously as they do those which they share with the rest of Christendom. Many are unable to distinguish between the kernel and the husk.

It follows that the Christianity presented is not of a uniform type, but is colored by the inherited ideas of each particular group. The thought has been turned, not on diagnosis of the patient, but on the remedies and methods of administration with which each group is most familiar.

(2) The second assumption is that the kinds of Christian nurture which have brought most benefit to home Christians will be best for others. This may be true in many cases. However, because each Christian body has provided real nourishment for its members it does not follow that it has nothing to learn about spiritual dietetics. It seems likely, first, that many become conditioned to the Christian diet they receive and are satisfied with it when, at the same time, they might profit more by a different menu; second, that many fail to grow because they are allergic to the nourishment provided.

One of the most remarkable things in the history of religion is the variety of appeals which arouse response and create conviction. Isaiah's vision in the temple transformed the life of one of the greatest Hebrew prophets.[1] But other religions record similar transformations. Gautama the Buddha was a different man after his enlightenment under the Bo tree. Chaitanya, a sixteenth century Hindu, at the age of twenty-four visited a temple where the Brahmans were singing the praises of Vishnu's footprint. He "became possessed with love and bliss." He came back to his town a changed man. He headed a revival which "inspired countless lives of devotion, and won converts from every class of society."[2] Manikka Vachakar, a South Indian Brahman, testifies that he was delivered from sexual pas-

sion by the golden feet of Shiva.[3] He testifies: "My bonds he cut, made me his own, cleansed foulness so no trace was left." The founder of the Tenrikyo sect in Japan, which grew from 1,000 members in 1888 to 4,162,000 in 1929, was an ignorant peasant woman who gained her first power through a vision.

Today we have a multitude of enthusiastic groups, Christian and non-Christian, with the most diverse beliefs and practices. What is common to them is not their objective truth, but their ability to appeal to certain types of human nature. Evelyn Underhill remarks that sanctity does not guarantee the doctrine of the saint.[4] The most intense fanatics often have least valid basis for their beliefs. People are stirred religiously by all sorts of appeals, rational and irrational, and in many instances their life attitudes are permanently changed in ways difficult for us to understand.

What is the significance of these facts? They would seem to indicate, in the first place, that mankind is incurably religious and that in every place some individuals have capacities for the deepest enthusiasm and devotion. Such capacities must be regarded as assets. They may assume very low forms, as in the case of the priests of Baal who leaped around the altar on Mount Carmel, but the way in which they cut themselves with knives showed that at least they were willing to sacrifice for their faith. Many would think that Elijah's scorn was better deserved by the vacillating multitude.

In other cases beliefs which lack rational bases may yet have associations which call out the better nature. Vishnu's footprint was a symbol of divine power visiting the earth for human benefit. The choral praise of it touched a live nerve and inspired conviction. It appears that a small tinc-

ture of rational appeal in religion if given supernatural associations may produce surprising results.

(3) The third assumption is that the principal agency for the transmission of Christianity is the spoken word. This is probably true but it does not follow that it is the exclusive agency.

One of the discoveries of modern education has been the importance of informal influences and purposeful attitudes as opposed to formal instruction. The old-fashioned curriculum was entirely verbal, consisting of subject matter to be mastered, facts to be stored away in the memory. Pupils were graded solely on the basis of their ability to reproduce information. Now much more stress is laid on the atmosphere of the school and of the classroom, the personal relations, the wholehearted appropriation of tasks, and the cooperating influences of the home and community. Christian education is coming to depend less on preaching and precept and more on fellowship and practice.

Christianity in its beginnings was a gospel of good news, that Jesus was the Messiah, the anointed of God. It was proclaimed to Jews who had an Old Testament background in order to lead them to accept Christ as the fulfillment of their hopes, and also to devout non-Jews who attended the synagogue. There was a great common basis to build upon. The spoken word was therefore given first place.

Scripture passages have seemed to endorse this as the supreme method. ". . . my word . . . shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please. . . ." [5] ". . . it was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching to save them that believed." [6] The American Board of Commissioners for For-

eign Missions, in an address to the Christian public in October, 1813, declared that "*the preaching of the gospel* is, after all, the grand means appointed by Infinite Wisdom for the conversion and salvation of men." [7]

Today there is a growing body of opinion that reliance has been too *exclusively* placed on the spoken word, indispensable as it is.

(4) The fourth assumption is that it is our part to use the appointed means of grace and to wait for God to give the increase as it pleases him. What are known as the appointed means of grace have certainly been greatly blessed.

The work of evangelism is always a superhuman process. It is the work of God, with whom men are fellow workers (II *Corinthians* 6:1). They are responsible for the best use of their intelligence. The farmer is a fellow worker with God. He plants and waters but God gives the increase. The physician is a fellow worker. He exerts his best skill and looks to the healing power of God. Both farmer and doctor find it essential to study carefully the laws of plant growth and human health. New discoveries are constantly making their efforts more effective. The missionary doctor holds himself under obligation to keep in touch with recent research and to spend his furloughs attending the most progressive clinics.

We have reason to be grateful for the results which have been achieved. We have reason to be deeply penitent for our failure to achieve greater results. Some of the figures of growth on the mission field are most encouraging, especially in the great mass movements which have taken place. What gives most satisfaction is that the rate of increase has been accelerating in recent years. On the other hand, when we consider the overwhelming numbers of rural people still unreached, the lack of response to continuous

and faithful efforts, and the arrested development of many who have responded, it would seem that we have still much to learn in dealing with unsophisticated villagers. With all our thankfulness for what has been achieved by the small body of missionaries and their associates on the field, supported by only a minority of Christians in the West and the limited resources of Christian converts, we must believe that there is a divine discontent with the lethargy of the church and a yearning for our more active and intelligent cooperation.

It is small consolation to realize that lukewarmness and backsliding are not confined to the foreign field, but are only too common at home.

Missionary work has always been a target of reproach for the ungodly. In recent years it is being criticized even by those most concerned for its success. Results are not all that could be wished. For instance, to quote figures from a field where achievement has been outstanding, Dr. Robert E. Speer, speaking for the Presbyterian churches of Korea, in his *Report of a Deputation in 1915*, states that there were baptized, in the years 1912-1914, 23,626 persons with a net gain in communicants of only 7,039. The gross loss was twice the net gain.[8] Dr. A. W. Wasson, in regard to the work of another church in the same field, writes: "While approximately forty thousand new believers were enrolled during the five year period, the net increase in members and probationers was only six thousand."[9] He also states that in 1930, after thirty-four years of work, the Methodist Episcopal Church South had on its rolls 7,879 baptized members, but during the thirty-four years 21,030 adults and 8,225 infants, a total of 29,255 persons, had been baptized.[10] Dr. H. Paul Douglass, writing of China, says: "Considering scattering evidence from many

sources, it is the writer's judgment that the Christian church has recently been suffering about five losses to every six gains." [11] It is fair to say that this last evidence was gathered after the church had passed through a very trying period.

The Rev. F. Whittaker, serving on the National Christian Council of India for the promotion of evangelistic work in the villages, says that there exists among Christian leaders in certain parts of India

> a great concern amounting in some cases to almost a feeling of desperation regarding the comparative poverty of the results of long years of effort. . . . Why, on the one hand, has the work of some churches and mission stations been so comparatively sterile, and why, in other cases, have their labors been attended with wonderful fruitfulness? . . . A study will also need to be made of the conditions, favorable and unfavorable, which confront the churches and missions, and of the attitude and spirit in which they are being dealt with.[12]

Two things we need to know better: how to appeal to illiterate pagans on the level where they live and how to transform the crude motives with which they welcome the Christian gospel into higher Christian ideals. These aims practically raise two questions: (1) what points of contact has Christianity with the religion of villagers and (2) beginning with these, how can Christian growth best be developed?

II. Character of Pagan Village Religion

The religion of the villagers of Asia and Africa is not that of the sacred books but is rather of the more primitive type generally known as animism, belief in spirits being a prominent feature of it. While to many villagers the names of the greater gods are known, to many others they are no

more than names. There are local deities, ancestral and other spirits, and supernatural power connected with certain objects.

This religion, with numerous differences in detail, has three general characteristics: (1) it turns to supernatural power for material aid; (2) to obtain this aid it performs certain external rites; (3) the powers from which it seeks aid are in large part local and tribal and not essentially righteous.

(1) It is natural that rural people should be especially desirous of material aid. Of all people, farmers are most concerned with prosperity because they are especially dependent on natural conditions beyond their control. Adverse weather conditions may ruin them, parching or flooding their fields. Pests and droughts may descend from anywhere and destroy their crops. Things may just refuse to grow as they ought for no apparent reason. The hunter and fisherman likewise are at the mercy of luck. Game may come their way or keep altogether out of sight. Barrenness of wives and illness of children are among the mysteries of life. Illiterate peasants are beset by the unpredictable. At their wits' end to account for these things or deal with them, they accept the traditions which ascribe good and bad luck to supernatural influences. They do not attempt to think out original ways of dealing with situations, but accept without questioning the traditions of the group.

There has been increasing recognition in recent years of the influence of emotion on our mental operations, on remembering and noticing, as well as reasoning. It takes the effort of a trained mind to exclude such elements when accurate thinking is needed. The beliefs of the average person are strongly warped by his emotional nature. The be-

liefs of the pagan villager are strongly controlled by it.*

If superstitions manage to survive in our sophisticated society in spite of the cold disapproval of science, what can we expect of primitive people who consider that their welfare depends on encouraging such opinions?

> Customs, handed down from prehistoric times, are law. No one would think of emancipation therefrom. To do otherwise than others do . . . is forbidden. It would be a denial of the divine authority of the ancestors, and a danger to the tribe.[13]

> We do not mean that there is an inherent defect in their understanding, or that they have no ability in argument, but that their thought is controlled by assumptions which we exclude, but which were once common among men.[14]

> The idea of any event happening from an inner necessity or a natural law is quite strange to him because his imagination and ideas depend so much on impressions of the senses.[15]

It is, therefore, not to be expected that the beliefs of pagan villagers should be formulated in clear-cut creeds or that they should be uniform. Great differences exist not only between different parts of the world but between groups in the same general areas. An adequate description of the religious life of the rural people of Asia and Africa would fill many volumes. All we can attempt here is a few rough generalizations to which there are numerous local exceptions.

The mysterious powers which affect human welfare may be variously ascribed to personal deities, regional or local, to spirits of ancestors or other deceased persons, to spirits

* *Primitive Mentality,* by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, considers that primitives are unable to reason logically. Malinowski, in his article in *Science, Religion, and Reality,* edited by Joseph Needham, holds that in matters of practical skill primitive people think quite clearly.

inhabiting objects which we consider inanimate, and to impersonal power.

The first characteristic of pagan religion is to desire to obtain the aid of this power or avert its threat of evil. Testimony is general that spiritual blessings are rarely, if ever, sought.

(2) The second characteristic is that the means of influencing this power is located in external rites. The villager desires superhuman aid and he seeks it in the only way he knows. At their best these rites may involve petition and communion with deities conceived as personal, they may ask for guidance through divination, may seek to appease the anger of spirits, or even to deceive them, and to manipulate impersonal power for good luck.

Such books as Junod's *Life of a South African Tribe* or Briggs's *The Chamars* describe the complicated ceremonies which accompany every action of life. When things go wrong confidence is not destroyed in ritual, but failure is ascribed to some unintentional slip in performance. Junod says the rites are performed without knowing why, as if constrained by mysterious anxiety.[16] Sometimes the exact word to be said and responses to be made are prescribed, as in the games of little children with us. Monier-Williams mentions a case where a man was assured that he would obtain a vision of Vishnu if he repeated a certain mantra (text) eight hundred thousand times. He did so without any vision, and was then informed that he must have made some slight verbal slip which altogether destroyed the value of the performance.[17]

Ancestors are supposed to survive after death and to have influence for good or ill on their descendants on whom they are dependent for welfare. The great desire for sons, especially in China and India, is for those who can

conduct rites for parents after their death. These rites express, therefore, both affection and self-interest, regard for the deceased and anxiety to avoid their displeasure. African hunters call upon their ancestors to prosper the chase.[18] There are other spirits, especially of those whose deaths were unhappy, who are malicious and must be placated or frustrated. In India persons who yawn hold their hands or snap their fingers before their faces lest evil spirits dart in.[19] Little boys are dressed as girls and given unattractive names to avoid the attention of spirits. Charms and amulets are worn and carried for protection. Holtom [20] says that a majority of Japanese carry amulets. Many writers assert that the prevailing character of peasant non-Christian religion is fear of these spirits. In the Middle Ages fear of demons was also widespread among professing Christians.

These rites sometimes involve considerable expense, as has already been noted in connection with marriages and funerals.*

Just because so much of all this is meaningless to us it seems like a heavy burden. But it has another side. These rites constitute a social bond and give warmth and color to life.[21] All principal events are consecrated by religious ceremonies in which the community joins. Testimony is widespread that to the peasant existence seems cold and bare without these things. Mature Christians like Dr. Chester S. Miao, general secretary of the N.C.C.R.E., look back to a non-Christian childhood with a sense of loss for the

* *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples,* by Melville J. Herskovits, p. 257, in describing the budget of a family living in the French Sudan, notes that the cost connected with the circumcision of a young member of the household exceeded that of all living expenses for the year. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1940.

ceremonies of dedication and initiation which were accompanied with prayers for blessing.[22] Some of these exercises have objectionable features and have therefore been condemned root and branch. As magical substitutes for righteousness, they may deserve the rebuke of the Hebrew prophets. But many thoughtful missionaries consider that they have elements of value which should be conserved.[23] They are needed as a corrective to a chilly secularism.

(3) The most fundamental matter in religion is its conception of the character of the supernatural. In Africa, where we might least expect to find it, there is widespread belief in a supreme creator who has certain characteristics of justice and benevolence, but who is not much worshiped. Several of the gods of India are adored as all-powerful and gracious. In China there is the goddess of mercy, Kwannon or Kwanyin, said to be the only deity who is really loved. The worship of villagers, however, is mostly directed to lesser deities, many of them only local, and to spirits who vary in character. Some of these are positively malignant.[24] They may send success and help in calamity, but in general are regarded as nonmoral. Shropshire says of ancestors: "Their characters are not better than those of men." [25] When misfortune happens to personal enemies animals are presented to gods as thank offerings.[26] The moral character of deities worshiped is unknown or little regarded.[27]

The gods are guardians of custom and resent any departure therefrom. This holds primitive society together and makes for stability. It creates some wholesome restraints. On the other hand, it consecrates a number of undesirable practices and checks progress. The Hebrew prophets could constantly appeal to a God of righteousness in dealing with social evils. The village gods of Asia and Africa have no

reforming zeal. To outsiders they are indifferent, or even hostile. An African tribe prays that plague may be transferred to another tribe.[28] Among the Egyptian fellahin charms to secure the death of an enemy ascribed praise to God "the Compassionate and the Merciful." [29]

These, roughly sketched, are the main characteristics of rural pagan religion. It has its better features, some of which are illustrated by these examples from Africa: Nassau says that there is a greater sincerity of belief and consistency of practice than among many professing Christians.[30] Among the moral rules of the Kikuyu are included: you must not drive away the orphan hungry; to spoil or cheat a poor man is taboo.[31] Monica Hunter says there is much generosity in feeding the children of others.[32] Among the Baganda, persons accepted death without a murmur because they felt it would avert calamity from the tribe.[33] On the other hand, religion does not criticize social life—an African can be religious without being ethical.[34]

III. How Should Such People Be Approached?

How is Christianity to approach people who have this religious background? What sort of religious nurture should it seek to provide?

There is a double danger here: conceding too much in the effort to meet people where they are; in not meeting them at all by failure to concede enough. There are individual cases where persons seem to respond with complete loyalty to a first preaching of the gospel message, and to grow in grace in a way that puts most Western Christians to shame. On the contrary, the average villager is long in exhibiting the fruits of the spirit. His motives are decidedly mixed. The problem is how to build on those who

are sordid and gradually infuse them with Christian content.

Bishop Pickett has some interesting testimony. He classified nearly four thousand statements of mass-movement converts on motives for accepting Christianity. Of these only 34.8 per cent could be regarded as spiritual, and many of these might have been due more or less to Christian teaching previously received. Of those whose motives were admittedly not spiritual, however, 70 per cent became regular attendants at church services, 93 per cent had homes free from idolatry, and 90 per cent contributed to the church.[35] As Bishop Azariah once remarked, the father welcomed the return of the prodigal son without inquiring too closely into his motives.

The fundamental question is not, are the motives of inquirers what they ought to be? but, how can we make them what they ought to be? We should not deliberately appeal to sordid motives, but neither should we turn away any whose motives are merely materialistic. It goes without saying that standards for baptized and communicant members should be different from those for inquirers.

With the particular characteristics of pagan education in mind, the questions arise: What approach will most appeal to felt needs? How can this approach be made to lead to growth in Christian character?

In this connection there is a matter of importance that is often overlooked. There is a tendency on the part of Christian workers to employ the types of approach which they have inherited and find congenial and to consider that these are authenticated if they win any converts at all. We need a more critical evaluation of our methods of work. In the first place, the best types of approach probably differ with different individuals and groups. We sin

against the Holy Spirit if we fail to employ procedures which might attract many into the kingdom of God. However, methods which have the greatest initial attraction are not always those which best promote subsequent growth. Different stages of development demand different treatment. Here again forms of Christian nurture have been too stereotyped. Of course, we cannot expect missionaries to offer with enthusiasm forms of Christianity which have not furnished most nourishment to their own Christian lives, but we should at least encourage more extended acquaintance with elements which have been fruitful in the lives of others. We need missionaries and workers with both depth of conviction and breadth of view.

(1) We must remember that the principal desire of the villager is for security. This desire is universal among mankind, but in the West it seeks satisfaction by rational control of conditions. We escape all but inevitable disasters by using our wits.

The primitive villager refers all calamities to the action of evil spirits. The aid of greater gods may sometimes be invoked against these, but with no complete confidence that this will render appeasement of the spirits unnecessary. Life is full of an irrational sense of possible harm, which may manifest itself in fear of the dark, of open windows at night, or of helping persons in distress. Though some gods may be benevolent, there is none who is a Rock and Tower against all dangers.

To such people Christianity comes with the message of one God who is all-powerful, a personal and loving Father, able to save to the uttermost those who put their trust in him. The Old Testament is full of stories of deliverance and of the greatness of God, who created sun,

moon, and stars. The Psalms contain songs of confidence of those in deepest distress. The New Testament tells how Christ drove out demons.

There is general testimony, not only from missionary literature but also from personal interviews, that the word which appeals most to the rural pagan is the promise of security against these evil spirits. Some are able to accept this promise wholeheartedly, and the courage and serenity which their lives manifest have great influence upon others. Of course superstition dies hard, as the history of the Christian church indicates even to this day. There are records of families which play safe and have only part of their children baptized.

The obvious danger of emphasizing the power of God is that faith may be overthrown by adversity. Those who become Christians are watched to see if they find their decision profitable. In a number of ways they do. They abandon certain harmful customs and live more rationally. They tend to be more sanitary and progressive. On the other hand, they may be persecuted. They may meet with misfortunes. It is not surprising that those to whom religion has been only a means of obtaining material prosperity should consider it a failure if it does not act like a charm. "The Alpha and Omega of a pagan's religious action and prayer is, 'My will be done,' and when this request is not fulfilled his religion has failed him." [36] There are various reports of idols being treated contemptuously when they did not answer prayers.

Those who have professed Christianity often fall away when things go badly, and others are repelled. Under such circumstances some turn to the book of *Job* for comfort. Much more striking is the example of Christ, who suffered even a shameful death. The bright hope of heaven enables

people to endure hardships, and the thought of a speedy second coming of Christ stirs the imagination of the oppressed. The idea of security gradually becomes more spiritual and remote as the perception deepens that the things which are seen are temporal, but things which are not seen are eternal. Many of course never attain the higher stages of development.

(2) The second characteristic of pagan religion is its confidence in external rites. This represents the priestly rather than the prophetic type. The Christian message releases from the burden of elaborate rites, sacrifices, and charms. There may be some natures, as with us today, to whom ceremonies are altogether congenial for their own sake and who revel in ritual performances. But while certain rites may be enjoyed, others are felt to be burdensome, gone through with only to escape danger. Sacrifices are sometimes very costly.

The gospel declares that access to God is through Christ and not through external rites. Through him we have entrance unto God the Father. Ritual sacrifices are no longer necessary.

The first danger is that the work of Christ may be conceived as simply a more powerful form of magic. There are some types of theology which do not sufficiently guard themselves against this conception. The death on the cross may have no more ethical or spiritual significance than the sacrifices to village gods. It may merely convey an unwarranted sense of security to those whose lives are not inwardly changed. The cross may be a symbol, a more powerful charm than the swastika or the trident. "Some of the people attribute magic power to the missionary when he is dressed in clerical robes, and mothers with their children crowd around him in order to touch his robe." [37]

The problem is to infuse meaning into the life and teaching of Christ, to lead men to share his service and suffering, to seek first his kingdom and righteousness, to lose their lives for his sake.

A second danger is that the freedom of the gospel may be misconceived. Word comes from many quarters that Christians frequently give less to the church than they formerly spent on non-Christian ceremonies. The latter were in every case for value received or at least hoped for. Persons went to the temple to obtain particular material benefits or they joined in community celebrations for general welfare. The church makes no charge for its service and depends on voluntary contributions. Education is necessary to secure its adequate support.

A third danger is that the Christian life will lose the color and warmth which festivals and ceremonies bring to pagans, as has already been noted.

There are still two schools of thought: One includes many of the national Christians, persons for whom Christianity represents breaking former social ties and making great sacrifices, and who are desirous of making Christian life as different as possible from non-Christian. They feel that the less there is to remind people of their former beliefs and practices the better. The opposite school, which is more susceptible to aesthetic considerations, wishes to provide as much as possible of the picturesque under Christian auspices. The problem is one of the first importance and demands ability and Christian insight of a high order. There seem to be large possibilities of infusing pagan village life with Christian spirit. Some interesting experiments have been made along these lines.

The first thing to remember is that, to villagers, religion has practically consisted in the performance of rites

without which they feel lost. "People who have lived all their lives in the swamps of animistic practice and belief, feel that there is something lacking in the rarefied air of spiritual uplands where God is worshipped without the intervention of hierophant, altar, sacred vestments, or mystic rites." [38]

Many Christians of the highest type feel this same lack in worship without visible rites. The converted pagan should certainly not be deprived of them. If Christian rites as developed by some particular church or sect in the West are substituted they may awaken no emotional response. If the old rites are retained they may awaken the wrong response, may be considered as semi-magical methods of securing material benefits. The ideal solution would seem to be to evolve rites at least similar in form to those which are familiar but to infuse them with an altogether new spirit. This is more difficult than it sounds.

The former rites were located primarily in the family, where they exerted their influence from earliest childhood. The less frequent observances of the church do not take their place. Where, as is so often the case in China, only one member of the family is a Christian, religious growth is greatly handicapped. The conviction of thoughtful missionaries is deepening that special effort should be made to win whole families to Christianity so that the home may become an agency of religious influence as it has always been in the past. The National Christian Councils of China and India, as already mentioned, are working out programs along these lines.

In addition to family rites there are those of the community on occasions of special interest. Many Christian converts and missionaries have felt that there should be some Christian equivalent to these ceremonies, retaining

their best elements and giving them Christian significance. There are certainly dangers to be avoided. It should be made clear that man seeks to place himself at God's disposal and not merely to win God's favor for his own ends by the performance of these rites. Prayers at seed planting will not infallibly ensure a good crop; rather, they indicate desire to work in such a way as to deserve a harvest. The significance of each ceremony should be clearly explained.

The Rev. Julian Rea, of Kambini, Portuguese East Africa, whose work includes a broad program for an agricultural community, has been a pioneer in developing worship services for harvest festivals and other occasions. He writes:

> Our distribution is nil and crops so poor as to cause famine in some parts, but we do not pray for improved distribution or for crops. We feel that there is a deeper, more fundamental need which we might call spiritualizing all rural life in the Christian sense. . . . We thought a relating of work and worship would eventually give as significant a place to the Christian God in Daily Rural Life as the old spirits had had. We started with a great act of worship to end fittingly the agricultural year. The first Harvest festival will never be forgotten, even though each year enthusiasm runs higher, and all declare the last to be the best of all services. It came to all the Christians in the school and village like a great discovery. They, who in their old life had never failed to present the first fruits to the chief or to pour out a little for the spirits, found peculiar joy in bringing for the first time their offering to the great chief, the Giver Spirit. . . .
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> That was in 1927, and since then hundreds of students from Kambini or visitors have carried the new service all over the country. Special hymns for the day have been written by the people themselves and the best of these have been included in the new hymnal. The type of offering has broadened so that in one circuit this year it included a goat, reed mats, honey, carved

wooden dishes, besides all kinds of grain, fruit, and vegetables. But that first day stands out like our Pentecostal awakening. Tongues of fire fell not only on the people but on their baskets of peanuts and bags of corn until all became more holy. And each year, as I participate in this harvest worship, whether in the fine new church at Kambini or out under a tree in some little village, it is to me a holy sacrament. . . . Babies toddle up and pour out their little baskets of seed, and old heathen grannies for once can join in the Christian worship honestly and understandingly.[39]

(3) The most distinctive feature of Christianity is its conception of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Many Westerners who profess to be Christians seem to have little recognition of this fact. They think of God as omnipotent creator and sustainer of the universe, demanding acknowledgment and homage, rather than as a loving Father desiring response to his forgiveness and cooperation in the work of his kingdom. Individual villagers have been known to welcome this revelation of God, but for most it is altogether foreign to their thoughts. This is absolutely central in the Christian message.

Fear of evil spirits, desire for merely material benefits, dependence on external rites, the sense of authority, capricious, indifferent, or limited in jurisdiction, will all more or less gradually disappear if they gain the knowledge of God which is in Christ.

Some missionaries are impressed with the real value of the Old Testament in dealing with primitive minds, on account of the greater similarity between its religious outlook and that of villagers. The early Hebrews thought of God mainly as their deliverer and protector. They consulted him by oracles and observed definite taboos. They worshiped him with rites to obtain favors. They held that

the transgression of an individual might bring calamity on the whole community and they regarded other nations as his enemies. The religion of the village peasant was a cheerful cult, most stirred when threatened by disaster.

All this the villager can easily understand. It may form an excellent starting point but a fatal resting place. The vital function of the Old Testament is to help trace the *growth* of this religion into something higher. The prophets insisted that God desired righteousness rather than rites (*Amos* 5:21-24; *Isaiah* 1:11 ff.), mercy and not sacrifice (*Hosea* 6:6). They showed the necessity for a clean heart and not merely ceremonial purity (*Jeremiah* 31:33; *Ezekiel* 36:26). They appealed to the conscience (*Isaiah* 6:5-8) and the sense of individual responsibility (*Ezekiel* 33:12 ff.) instead of mere conformity to custom. They proclaimed God, not only as Lord of the whole earth (*Isaiah* 66:1), able to destroy hostile nations (*Isaiah* 10:12), but as desiring that all men should be saved (*Isaiah* 45:22; *Jonah* 4:11). In *Jeremiah* 15:16-20, *Isaiah* 53:12, and *Psalms* 73:25 there emerges the thought of some better thing than material prosperity, for those who put their trust in God.

The Old Testament might easily be so interpreted by pagans as to satisfy them with some of the features of their own religion. Its significance lies in the way in which God guided his people from lower to higher conceptions of his nature and demands. The lower stages are recorded not for imitation but to be transcended.

Difficulty in Transmitting Christian Thought

We are seeking to create in pagan natures a desire for something more than material benefits, a sense of personal communion with a righteous and loving Father. These

things have become a part of our spiritual possessions and we have developed a vocabulary for expressing them. We have come to operate in a universe of thought quite foreign to that of pagans. This greatly limits the effectiveness of the exclusive use of the spoken word in transmitting ideas.

Because villagers express themselves fluently on subjects familiar to them it does not follow that they grasp the meaning of missionary preaching.

Adolphe Mabille in 1864 wrote from Basutoland: "However well any of us may speak Sesuto our manner of thinking and our logic are yet hardly comprehensible to the mass of people." [40]

Formerly, many missionaries took for granted that the message of salvation which was so perfectly plain to them would be comprehended even by persons who heard it for the first time. Dr. A. C. Dixon of the Moody Bible Institute once told the writer that he could present the way of life to anyone within fifteen minutes provided the person was willing to listen. What he meant was that he could in that time make a statement perfectly unescapable in its logic to one who understood his vocabulary and granted his assumptions.

We have already cited the case of Dr. Royal Wilder, who preached in three thousand different towns and villages. Some real good has resulted from this rapid itineration but it is evident that the number of those who really understood the message must have been extremely small.

A member of the China Inland Mission, which devotes itself especially to evangelistic work in remote villages, says that experience indicates " 'that it takes at least one month for the curiosity and strangeness to wear off and for those who are really interested to get a clear grasp of

some of the fundamental truths of Christianity.' "[41]

Especially in dealing with women, whose lives are so often barren of mental stimulus, it is easy to overestimate the assimilation by the audience of a statement that is altogether clear to the speaker. Mrs. Thomas N. Carter, formerly of Nanhsuchow, listened to her husband addressing a group of village women. It was so plain and simple that she felt they could not possibly fail to take it in. At the close of his talk Mr. Carter asked, gently and encouragingly, whether anyone could repeat anything he had said. There was blank silence. After a little coaxing one woman finally remarked, "You said something about sweet potatoes." That one idea had evoked emotional response. With all of us there is a tendency to remember things connected with live wires of feeling. It takes considerable mental effort to comprehend an address in which we are not really interested. For untutored minds it is practically impossible.

Fellow Countrymen Succeed Best

Those who seem to succeed best in moving such minds are their own fellow countrymen, the African prophet, the Chinese evangelist, or the Indian *sadhu,* who speak the same language of the heart.

One of the most striking instances is that of the prophet Harris in West Africa. According to general testimony, he exerted an influence which was both deep and permanent.[42] His principal assets seem to have been a strong and sincere character, profound conviction, considerable knowledge of the text of the Bible, and the power to speak to the African mind and conscience. A fellow African wrote of him: " 'It seems to me as if God made the soul of Harris a soul of fire. You cannot be in his presence for

long without realizing that you are in contact with a great personality.' " [43] He stood for belief in one God, destruction of fetishes, observance of Sunday rest, prohibition of adultery, and toleration of polygamy. He threatened punishment for those who would not repent. Apparently no missionary has been able to stir multitudes as he did.

A remarkable feature of Harris's work was the way in which devotion persisted when the contagion of his person had been removed. Platt has two striking passages:

> From a score of villages I had called together the "preachers" appointed to conduct Sabbath worship after Harris had left. They came eager for a message and a text. These were the men who had exhorted their flocks Sunday by Sunday for those ten years. They had kept the faith. I counted them. They were fifty-two in number. Serious, stolid types they were; men who would die rather than abandon their new way of life. "Men, how many of you can read those Bibles in your churches? Hands up!" I said. Slowly and diffidently went up the hands. I waited. I counted. There were *two!*
>
> In an interior village which I had not visited before, I discovered a church unknown to me. Such is the reputation Harris had left concerning the link of the Book with religion that in almost every church the printed page, even if unread, is evident. So in this new church I walked up between the simple rustic benches. There it was, apparently a Testament or a single Gospel. I took up the Book. I opened it. It was printed matter, but not a Gospel—a booklet advertising patent medicine! . . . Poor people; they were illiterate; they had done their best.[44]

When emotion dominates the situation, as it so often does in mass movements, the African is at the mercy of any freak suggestion which happens to touch popular imagination. Particularly is this so if it comes with the sanction of religion.[45]

Religious Assent Emotional Rather than Rational

Here we have a minimum of intellectual understanding but, nevertheless, an attachment based on emotion to ideals dimly conceived. It would be impossible for us, trained to take a critical attitude toward experience, to give allegiance to a message with so little content. It is equally impossible for many village minds to be attracted by a message purely rational. Emotion aroused by whatever method may predispose to attend ideas which have significance for them. A sense of contact with some sort of supernatural reality may be aroused by rhythmic motion of dances or processions, by participation in group observances, by witness of abnormal happenings, performances by magicians, healing, speaking with tongues, by stories of supernatural power, by impressive assertions as in the case of the prophet Harris.

The late Professor C. T. Loram of Yale University, formerly member of the permanent Native Affairs Commission of South Africa and prominent in missionary gatherings, quotes with approval the suggestion that there be created in Africa "a truly native church whose motivation is emotional rather than mainly intellectual or purely ethical, in which rhythmic dancing and singing have a place, which takes cognizance of Native psychic and mystic experience, whose forms and functions are rooted in Native life, background and environment." [46]

The African places no premium on independent conclusions, least of all in religion. His religion is not a matter of individual conviction but of social conformity. He may have emotional stirrings when alone under special circumstances, but religious stimulations come mostly from social surroundings. They almost never lead him to for-

sake his family and flee to a distant wicket gate like Bunyan's Pilgrim, but only to do what the rest do.

It is very desirable that an individual conscience should be ultimately developed with intellectual content and ethical judgment, but methods which are mainly intellectual or purely ethical can hardly be expected to give the best results. There is not enough intellectual or ethical foundation on which to build. The villager in general does not rise above social approval though he may often fall below it. It is immensely important that he should have social support, if not of society as a whole at least of a social group. Freytag considers that missionaries in New Guinea were wise to wait many years till whole tribes were ready to become Christian, though even then not all were baptized.[47]

It would, therefore, seem that Christian nurture for rural people should provide opportunity for spontaneous social response, which in the case of Africans may well include rhythmic dancing and singing.

Influence of Supernatural Manifestations

In general, nothing so authenticates the claims of the supernatural to unsophisticated people as its visible and seemingly miraculous working. In particular, ecstatic possession manifests divine power. The Corinthians were greatly impressed with speaking with tongues (I *Corinthians* 14). Paul does not forbid this and apparently gave way to it himself at times, but only desires orderly conduct and shows how much better are the things which edify.

These manifestations have appeared in several parts of the mission field. The revivals which took place in Shantung Province a few years ago were described by the Rev. Paul R. Abbott.[48] When led by men with little religious

or cultural background, stress was laid on dances, rolling, tongues, trances, and visions. Such things are sure to attract the attention of village people who have lived emotionally starved and monotonous lives, and to inspire absolute certitude. For them the guarantee of religion is something overt which can be ascribed to the supernatural.

While he recognizes and deplores the excesses connected with these movements, Mr. Abbott finds that wheat has grown up as well as tares. There has been more active study of the Bible, a keener sense of sin, and more fervor in Christian experience. Many have been reached whom a formal type of Christianity would never have attracted. Everything depends on the way in which such occasions are followed up. It may well be that most peasants should have more emotional stimulus than has been provided. We sin against these people if we offer them a gospel on too intellectual a plane. We sin against them still more if we fail to guide and train their crude emotions into Christian service.

Response to the Emotional and Personal

Some Chinese evangelists have secured many converts. One of the best known of these is John Sung, who studied in America, passed through a very intense emotional experience, and has done much evangelistic work in China. He uses pictorial methods. A garment, colored to represent the seven deadly sins, was thrown off to show a white robe beneath. An apparently white heart was shown by a flashlight held behind it to bear the black sign for sin.

At one time in his ministry, Sung was very critical of the churches and caused splits in communities which he visited, but lately he has become more cooperative and is reported to have done real good.

Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, of Union Theological Seminary, reports a case where more formal and conventional methods seem to have owed their success to their spirit and surroundings. It relates to a church service among primitive people in the island of Celebes:

> The Dutch minister in black Genevan gown was reading his sermon in the vernacular. In the last ten minutes of an hour's carefully read discourse, one could not be certain that the auditors were grasping the full weight of its substance. There was no slackening of intent and reverent attention, but I thought I detected a slight falling off in capacity for absorption during those closing paragraphs. However, one quickly sensed that the message of the worship was being conveyed, far more effectively than by spoken word, through the unadorned beauty of the building, through simple hymns to familiar tunes, through the indefinable intimacy of deep fellowship, perhaps most of all through the stillness which pervaded the house and all its company—simple, unemotional, genuine, comradely, reverent, beautiful.[49]

One wonders just how much of the discourse was understood and assimilated, although the people had been under religious instruction for some time. But there is no reason to doubt that the total impact of the work had profoundly changed their lives, as was evident from comparison with non-Christians of the neighborhood in such matters as cleanliness, health and freedom from fear.

Missionaries generally testify that their own efforts are not the principal means of bringing people into the church; rather is it the work of native converts whose knowledge of Christian truth is much more limited but who understand the thought processes and impulses of those with whom they deal.

Village pastors in China reported that the personal influ-

ence of their people rather than preaching services increased church membership.[50]

The primitive responds to the visible. Even educated people in this country frequently remember some object lesson used in the children's sermon better than the supposedly more edifying address which follows. Dr. D. J. Fleming's interesting study, *Christian Symbols in a World Community*, deals in large part with forms which would be appreciated by more cultivated minds.[51] While any form would probably impress villagers, pagan or Christian, something less subtle would be more effective.

In view of this the villager should have something that warms his heart, a sense of supernatural reality. The more this can infuse his daily life the better. However, fervency in religion should be encouraged rather than ecstasy, speaking with understanding rather than with tongues. Children profit by games which may seem rather meaningless to educated adults. Therefore, primitives should have celebrations and forms of worship which may have little intellectual content but which tend to create a sense of fellowship. Religious dances are an instance. From time to time the significance of these exercises should be explained.

Use of Symbolism and Ritual

Symbolism should primarily refer to truths which are important and can be appreciated, not to ideas which have significance only to other ages or conditions. It should have present meaning and the meaning should be explained.

An interesting example of African methods of thought was mentioned in an address by Dr. Irvin W. Underhill, Jr. He described objects in a receptacle which was supposed to be the seat of authority of an African medicine

man. There was, first, a stone, which was a symbol of the unchanging. Next, there was human hair and clipping of nails, which represent the only parts of the body which continue to grow after portions are cut off, a symbol of growth. Third, there were the fangs of a snake, which contained poison able to kill others although it does not kill the snake which gives it forth, a symbol of power. Last, there was the tip of a blind man's staff, which enables a man deprived of sight to follow the path without stumbling, a symbol of intelligence. This thinking is mystical rather than logical. It is not what we would call scientific, but certainly the product of a lively imagination.

In a New Guinea congregation where the matter of undertaking missionary work was being discussed, someone protested that he was fed up with the whole subject. The next Sunday the altar was covered with weapons and implements of sorcery, which once controlled life but had fallen into disuse through Christian influence. The missionary pointed to them and said, "There is your sermon," and went out without another word. This aroused a lively discussion and the realization that people owed their deliverance from these things to the work of missions.[52]

An interesting feature of this incident was that the group was permitted to discover something for themselves. In a book which had immense influence over half a century ago Henry Drummond warned against church services which supplied so much rich diet that they left nothing for the people to do.[53] The prevailing forms of Protestant worship do not lend themselves to mental initiative on the part of the congregation, so that they provide only a part of what the Christian needs.

In general, the primitive responds to the concrete. He obtains supernatural benefits not by secret prayer but by

overt and traditional performance which gains in impressiveness when others join in it. Visible symbolism stirs him especially when it arouses a sense of the mysterious. The less it is understood, the more tremendous may be its possibilities of meaning. The most powerful incantations are the most incoherent.

This is one aspect of ritual. Another is the opportunity it affords for social participation. There is plenty of testimony from China, India, and Africa that rural people enjoy liturgy. Singing is often antiphonal, sometimes with solos by the leader and responses from the group. Indians greatly enjoy *bhajans* and will engage in them for hours. The Chinese often sing with great gusto. Africans are noted for their love of vocal music. A missionary from the Congo says that hymns are enjoyed mainly for their tunes. In America, the Moody and Sankey hymns of the last century had great vogue among rural people and are still much used today, while they have largely lost their appeal to the more cultured. Most of the hymn singing in our city churches is more artistic but less fervid, and the decorous passivity of much of our worship is hardly overcome by a few formal responses.

On the field some interesting experiments are being tried in forms of worship. Miss Mabel Shaw, of Mbereshi, North Rhodesia, who deals in her school with village girls, has successfully employed clapping and body swaying in singing. Her girls have composed a number of quite varied ritual forms for themselves. What makes these exercises vital is the sympathetic and inspiring personality of Miss Shaw.

Ritual is a two-edged sword. It may promote reverence, a unity of spirit, a deeper realization of the presence of God and expectation of something out of the ordinary.

But there is danger that it may become an end in itself, creating the feeling that persons have discharged their responsibility to God when they have worshiped according to form; that benefits are in proportion to the elaborateness of the ritual. The meticulous rites of many non-Christian religions illustrate the lengths to which the priestly class will go in inventing trivialities. Some priests are also prophets; others are only ritualists. Willoughby, with his usual keen insight, remarks that "ritual, even more than speech, is liable to veil what it tries to reveal." [54] He refers to Bantu ritual. We cannot hope that Christian ritual will of itself be more intelligible to these people.

An essential part of religious education is training and service. People must learn that the essence of Christianity is not to be minstered unto, even spiritually, but to minister. The Christian church is not primarily a sanitarium for sick souls, an ark of refuge, nor even a temple for worship, but the body of Christ which exists to do the will of its head. A body which derived nourishment from its head but never executed its orders would be only one stage above that of a corpse.

Bishop Azariah of Dornakal has been active in stimulating his people to undertake evangelistic work in the surrounding country. He notes that Indian Christians are religious, so far as outward conformity goes, in church attendance and pattern of life. But more is needed. "Christian life will never thrive where witness-bearing and service for others are neglected. . . . There is no Christian life which does not include in it the element of saving others. The temptation to seek one's own salvation and to neglect that of others is particularly subtle to the Indian." [55]

IV. Dealing with Entering Influences

Constructive thinking will also be necessary as preparation to meet influences which are gaining in strength and affecting village life in varying degrees. As already stated, the extent to which these influences are felt varies greatly. Where communications are well-developed new ideas can enter and people can come in contact with them elsewhere. It is easy both to underestimate the amount of change taking place in some villages and to overestimate in the case of others. There are probably thousands of villages in the non-Christian world where life is still thoroughly primitive in outlook.

The first of these entering influences is modern science. It is to this that we turn for our own security. Research and its practical applications have led to so many miracles that we pin our hopes on this for help. We have so long been accustomed to trace the operation of what are known as secondary causes or laws of nature that we are steadily becoming more hardheaded.

As stated above, the villager recognizes the operations of cause and effect in certain practical phases of life, but beyond the narrow range of his personal experience he refers happenings to the action of the unseen. To an increasing extent he is coming in contact with Western methods which demonstrate their superior efficiency. Inoculations and fertilizer prove more effective than incantations and charms. The first thing to crumble is faith in idols and religious rites. But this skepticism may easily spread to everything that is religious. The baby may be spilled out with the bath.

Dr. Newell S. Booth of the Congo has called special attention to the importance of introducing both science

and Christianity to the African. Without the former some of the old superstitions may persist as they did in the case of some of the great saints of the church. Without the latter there is loss of idealism and of a sense of responsibility to God for all our abilities.

Rural people look to their religion for material benefits and in particular for healing of diseases. What substitutes can Christianity offer for the crude methods of pagan medicine men? Sects which claim to heal by faith or by Christian rites have a great attraction. The cures of the medical missionary are often ascribed not so much to his science as to his superior magic. Shall we encourage faith healing or discourage it? If the former, shall we promise cures under all circumstances and run the risk of destroying the faith of those who are not healed? If the latter, what can we say to people who are not only without medical care but are ignorant of medical methods? Shall we tell them that science alone can save them in cases where we cannot provide its aid? The writer was much impressed in a Chinese prayer meeting to note the numerous testimonies of restored health in answer to prayer. Village pastors in China are often called up in the night to pray for sick cows. Under such circumstances, how shall we avoid the extremes of unwarranted credulity and cold-blooded skepticism?

It seems desirable to distinguish between the functions of the supernatural in pagan religion and in Christianity. In the former case, the supernatural is simply the more powerful. It may operate in three ways: (1) for positive harm when it demands human sacrifice, taboos which destroy life, cruelty, things which create fear and suspicion; (2) to maintain customs which are not vicious but merely arbitrary and opposed to progress; (3) to check actions

such as murder, theft, and adultery, which are contrary to community welfare. If we think of the supernatural only in terms of power it will be steadily crowded into smaller space by the advance of science, which studies the laws of nature in order to utilize them. Mind cannot alter natural laws but it can manipulate them for practical purposes. These purposes may be good, bad, or indifferent. But in general they represent personal advantage. We need something higher than this to supply us with ideals and the strength to desire them. What we need is the grace of God. It does not set aside natural law, but helps men to make the best of the circumstances in which they find themselves. It regenerates lives and enables them to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit. The growth of science, far from diminishing faith in this kind of supernatural power, only increases the need for it, so that the products of science may become a real blessing to mankind and not a curse.

The second entering element is secularism. This has the same materialistic basis as science but makes it a tool for individual or group advantage. It is not disinterested. At its best it may be humanistic but at its worst it thinks only of profit or of a pleasure philosophy of life. This is the characteristic aspect of Western civilization, other than missionary, which affects the villager. Most white men whom he sees are not out for their health but to make money. Their religion, if they have any, is not obvious. Their leisure-time pursuits are not very edifying.

On the whole, the villager is probably more influenced by products than by individuals. Secular civilization offers new interests in the way of articles for sale and amusements. Freytag tells of an old Papuan who visited a shop for the first time in his life, and clucked with enthusiasm

over a meager display which seemed to him wonderful.[56] If science offers more effective security than pagan religion, secularism supplies some attractive kinds of emotional release. Commercial amusements will cater to the longings which the villager finds irresistible. Tastes altogether uncultivated tend in general to find most satisfaction in what is most demoralizing. Films which are banned in this country fascinate the villager when he visits large towns. Peddlers do a thriving business in habit-forming drugs. Wholesome forms of entertainment enter more slowly. The Western secular world finds its recreation elsewhere than in religion. The Asiatic and African peasant is headed in the same direction.

Even missionary work may be more influenced by secularism than it realizes. The missionary is a practical man. In his effort to achieve efficiency he may find it hard to keep things on a manifestly spiritual plane.

A third pervasive influence is nationalism. This both unites and divides. It both enlarges loyalties and limits them. People become conscious of belonging to a race rather than to a mere tribe or community, but too often develop antagonism toward other races. Sun Yat-sen made nationalism the first of his three principles in order to counteract the parochial tendencies of Chinese groups, but found it necessary to enlarge on foreign aggression in order to induce people to unite.

Fifty years ago Dr. Arthur H. Smith, in his *Chinese Characteristics,* discussed the question whether such a thing as patriotism existed in China, and came to a negative conclusion. His estimate may have been too pessimistic, but the fact that it could be supported with any plausibility shows what changes have taken place in half a century. Today consciousness of race is growing fast. This

unites whole areas. There is the feeling that the white man owes his position more to his superior weapons than to the color of his skin. The right of every nation to work out its own salvation in its own way without dictation from outside is vigorously claimed. By no means all nations have caught this fever, but it is spreading.

Christianity must meet these three issues by teaching the best use of scientific methods for human welfare and the need of Christian motivation in dealing with them. They are only tools whose value depends on how they are used. They can promote material security better than pagan rites. They cannot supply Christian ideals.

Secularism needs to be dealt with both by building up spiritual ideals and making material things contribute to them, and by wise provision for wholesome emotional release. The average villager cannot be trained into an ascetic. There should be Christian festivals and ceremonies to meet the needs of different ages and degrees of maturity. Christianity should not be a matter of mere negative prohibitions. Donald Fraser and other missionaries believe that many African dances might well be maintained. Some Africans are said to consider Western dances as more sexual than their own. This indicates the importance of help in selecting the best of Western civilization and rejecting the worst.

The missionary should sympathize with a healthy sense of nationalism, but seek to cultivate also the consciousness of international brotherhood in Christ. His influence will count for much in helping village Christians to make the most of entering forces which they cannot escape.

V. Looking Toward Future Christian Unity

Missionary work, while adjusting itself to the present situation, must also look to the future. In training our children we accommodate ourselves to their present stage of immaturity but we have always clear in the back of our minds the conditions of the life they will live later. We try to cultivate habits which will help them to fit into the society in which they are likely to find themselves and to subdue eccentricities which would handicap their social intercourse. So must we think of the future of the Christian enterprise. There are beliefs and practices which unite the various Christian bodies and other beliefs and practices which divide them. The former have been formulated to as great a degree as was practicable at the Missionary Conferences of Jerusalem and Madras, and also at the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences of 1937. At these gatherings were assembled outstanding representatives of Protestant Christianity of every continent and every race. There was thorough discussion and exchange of views. It is safe to say that no single Christian body could speak with such authority.

There are convictions which to individual missionaries and groups may seem essential to their Christianity, but which were not considered essential by the gatherings mentioned. It would be well if, in the interest of ultimate Christian unity, these beliefs were not prominently stressed or made tests of orthodoxy.

There are regrettable instances of converts who have become so attached to certain features of the message brought them that they are less willing than the missionaries themselves to make concessions for the sake of fellowship with other Christians. We are often told that the peo-

ple of Asia and Africa care nothing for the differences which separate churches in this country. This is true in a large measure, but not altogether. Villagers may be taught to regard these differences as so essential that they will absolutely refuse to surrender them.

VI. The Best Investment of Funds

The tendency of every religious organization undertaking missionary work is to seek to reproduce itself on the field in doctrine, form of worship, administration, and even of architecture. In some cases the home constituency would not support anything else. In the mid-nineteenth century some missionary leaders, notably Henry Venn, the great secretary of the Church Missionary Society, spoke of the euthanasia, or happy decease, of the missionary enterprise when there should have been established in every land self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating churches to which could be committed the further work of Christianity in their respective areas. Missionary success was to be measured by this standard. It has been partly attained. We have city churches in China, India, Africa, and other countries which conform largely to our idea of what a church should be. They have many members, pastors of ability, are self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. In some cases they even look like churches, having steeples, stained-glass windows, and pipe organs, strictly according to the pattern shown in the Mount.

In villages, the situation has been somewhat different. In most sections a small proportion of churches are self-supporting. For the most part, membership is too small and poverty too great to finance church equipment. Dr. J. Merle Davis is constantly reminding us that the church

in this country is a middle-class affair, depending on at least middle-class incomes for maintaining standards considered respectable. As it is, many of our small country churches are suffering from insufficient funds and cannot afford full-time pastors. In Asia and Africa, many groups cannot afford a resident pastor or, at best, only one inadequately trained to deal with rural problems.

Under such circumstances the usual practice is to depend on lay leadership and the visits of traveling evangelists. This has enabled many groups to hold together and to share their Christian faith with outsiders. It usually implies a program of not much more than worship. A second plan is to provide subsidies for the salaries of pastors. This method has proved, on the whole, disappointing. The hope of decreasing the subsidies has too often been unfulfilled. A third method is the larger parish plan, already successful in a number of places, which provides a visiting staff with specialized functions—evangelistic, educational, medical, and agricultural—to supervise a district. Particular attention is given to the development of lay workers and leadership. The difference between this and the first alternative is that stays are longer and the program much broader, with emphasis on training.

It would seem that money spent in the preparation of specialized workers for such teams would accomplish more than subsidies of poorly trained pastors or evangelists. It is felt by some that support of a pastor by outsiders has a pauperizing effect. In the West we have come to believe that affording opportunities for education does not pauperize, since individuals have to exert themselves in order to take advantage of them.

Anything the church can do in this line for the villagers of Asia and Africa will, of course, be only a drop in the

bucket but this fact does not absolve it from providing what it can. The euthanasia of the missionary enterprise will never be due to take place as long as Christian people in this country have privileges to share with those who are less fortunate.

The Responsibility of the West

The late Frank Rawlinson, one of the most acute thinkers on missionary problems, held:

> It is as harmful to the spiritual life of Western Christians for them to *withhold* their economic resources as to deluge unwisely the Chinese people therewith is to the spiritual vitality of Chinese Christians.[57] . . . Christians nowhere are under the obligation to do Christian work in ineffective ways simply to uphold the impractical ideal—that economic self-reliance is always essential to spiritual vitality.[58] . . . So long as there is a difference in the height of the economic levels on which Western and Chinese Christians live, the economic resources of the higher level must of necessity flow down to the lower one.[59]

The great missionary conference at Madras in 1938 follows the same line of thought:

> We do not look forward to a time when the older churches can shift their responsibilities to the younger. . . . The work to be done is so vast, so urgent, and so important, that it calls for all the resources of all Christians in all parts of the world. The task in this new day must be undertaken by a partnership between the older and the younger churches, by a pooling of all resources, and by cooperation of all Christians.[60]

The broad program of missionary effort presented in this book affords greatly extended opportunity for the wise investment of Western money for the welfare of the Christian church in rural Asia and Africa. In teaching

people to read and write and furnishing them with useful literature, in promoting health campaigns, in helping to raise standards of living, in infusing Christian spirit into family and community relations, in studying the religious psychology of rural people as a basis for the most effective Christian nurture, a hundred times our present investment of workers and funds would still be insufficient but would multiply by much more than a hundred the benefits we have so far been able to share with those who have had so few of our privileges.

The second great World War has dislocated much missionary effort, but it has not terminated the missionary responsibilities of the Christian church. By its devastating effects it has only increased the need for world vision and sympathy leading to larger fellowship with the love and purpose of Christ for these sheep of his fold.

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The conclusion was driven in upon us that *the Indian villager is not helped unless he is helped simultaneously in every phase of his life, and in regard to every relationship he bears to others. The service must be comprehensive to get anywhere, and it must be simultaneously comprehensive. In other words, what is wanted is not reform but reconstruction, from the centre out and all round.* . . .

One very important point should be realised further. It is *this* generation that we must so save. To depend on the youth of the village who go to the day school is in the words of a Tamil proverb "like digging a well for water when the house is on fire." The well should certainly be dug, for future fires, and for many other good purposes. But the house is on fire today before our eyes: we have to save what we can of it before it is all gutted.

—From "Twelve Years of Rural Work," by K. T. Paul, *The Indian Review*, July, 1926, pp. 7-8.

EPILOG

AS THE COMMISSIONER REMARKED IN THE PROLOG OF this book, it makes a great difference whether we compare our gray with black or with white. In the former case it looks bright; in the latter, dark. The present generation is in a critical mood. Rosy anticipations of human progress have been deflated by two great world wars. Ideals like those of democracy and liberty, which were supposed automatically to yield unmitigated benefits, are perceived to have their limitations. Against the background of past centuries our gray looks cheerful, but against the background of our highest hopes it seems decidedly dingy. It makes a lot of difference in what spirit the comparison is made. There are some who take a savage and cynical pleasure in pointing out defect and failure, who revel in gloomy pessimism. At the opposite end of the line a self-satisfied optimism, blind to shortcomings, is not much more attractive.

The spirit of comparison that is needed should be at once realistic and constructive. Not even light gray is called white but the main concern is to make it more nearly white. The best educational thought has moved in this direction. It has devised testing scales for school surveys, in which everything is graded against a standard of one hundred per cent. A feature graded fifty per cent is much better than it might be but only half as good as it

ought to be. The judgment is rendered not to discourage effort but to stimulate it.

Christian enterprises have been comparatively little subjected to any such treatment. This has been, at least in part, due to the feeling that results were dependent on the unpredictable grace of God, whose operations man should not question, and also on the power of man to resist this grace. There is today a much greater tendency to assign responsibility to human effort. Just because the message of the gospel has such great possibilities in transforming men's lives it demands the most effective methods of presentation. On the one hand, we have cause for the most unbounded optimism as to the power of the Spirit of God; on the other hand, we have need for the most searching criticism of our own methods.

Missionaries have already specialized in various forms of work. Further specialization is needed for dealing with adult villagers. These represent the most vast, neglected, and difficult field of missionary effort. Just as the lowest grades in school require the most expert teaching, so do the masses of humanity most backward in privilege, although not in possibilities, demand specially skilled treatment.

Mr. Arthur T. Mosher undertakes to answer the question, What will the program of the Christian rural mission be?

> It will not be an inclusive secular program of rural improvement plus a department of religion. It is not a program of improvement or reconstruction at all, but of Christian discipleship. It must have no activity, no emphasis, which does not grow out of the Gospel itself, which is not essential to proclaiming and interpreting the Good News. The secular solution of social, economic and political problems is itself a practice to be chal-

lenged and transformed by the Gospel. No secular program of rural development can be made "Christian" by the addition of a minister. Because when we departmentalize any program so that part of it pursues economic, social and political goals in a secular manner, while another part attempts to supplement this by religious teaching, the result is an inner conflict in the program. A secular approach and a religious attitude are incompatible. So let us abandon the idea that a secular rural program can become Christian by adding a department of religion, and seek to discover to what activities in rural areas, the Gospel itself commits us.

This certainly holds up a high ideal for our work. In a community of professing Christians on the mission field or at home the sacred and the secular should be completely integrated so that all of life is lived as unto God.

An excellent statement of the case is made by Denys W. T. Shropshire in *The Church and Primitive Peoples:*

> Christian education is not merely a transmission of foreign doctrine but a continuous purposive reconstruction of present experience in the light of the principles of the Gospel of Christ.
>
> The subjects of the curriculum should not be stated in general terms, such as Christian character, but rather in such terms as, What is the Christian reaction to specific types of situations in a Bantu home or a Native village?

Adult education may also be used as an approach for those who are not Christians. The response we may expect from them will probably be much like that of children to the nurture of their parents. The first thing which draws out the response of our children to us is the fact that we minister to their wants. They turn to father and mother for protection and care. In the earliest stages of their development we cannot expect more. We delight in doing for them and in their willingness to accept our help,

although we realize that the same help from anyone else might be equally welcome. As they grow older we look for signs of affection for us rather than merely for the things we provide. We treasure every such manifestation. If they remained altogether apathetic toward us while they accepted our benefits, this would give us deep concern.

As maturity approaches we desire something further. We want our children to care not only for us but also for the things we most value, our highest ideals, our love of God, our devotion to his kingdom. No amount of personal affection which failed to share our allegiance to Christ would satisfy us. Arrest at this stage would create the deepest disappointment of all.

In our first contacts with pagan villagers we cannot expect an interest in anything but material benefits. The desire for literacy may be fed only by the ambition to get rid of an inferiority complex and to gain respect. Knowledge of health may be valued only to escape the discomfort of illness. Aid in improved methods of work may be welcomed only for its money profit. Some of our social and Christian teaching may not attract at all, or only for purely practical reasons.

Further development may be like that of our own children. Constant kindness may win personal affection and this in turn lead to love of God and dedication to his service. Some will progress faster than others and some may not progress at all. Only constant patience can hope to succeed in dealing with the cases of arrested development. In all our relationships with the world's peoples our reward will come when the Christian education of village adults leads them into active citizenship in the kingdom of God.

BOOK LIST

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